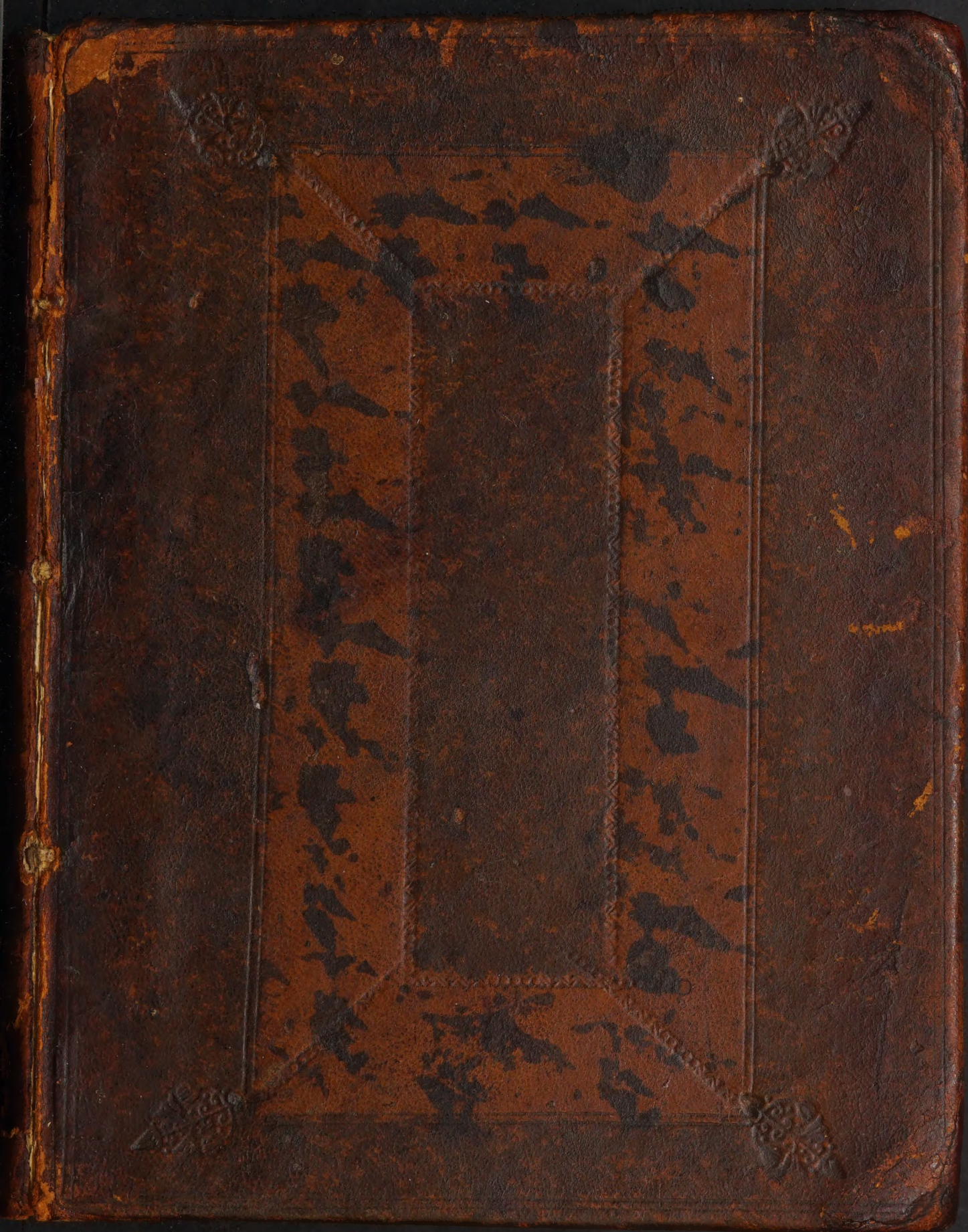




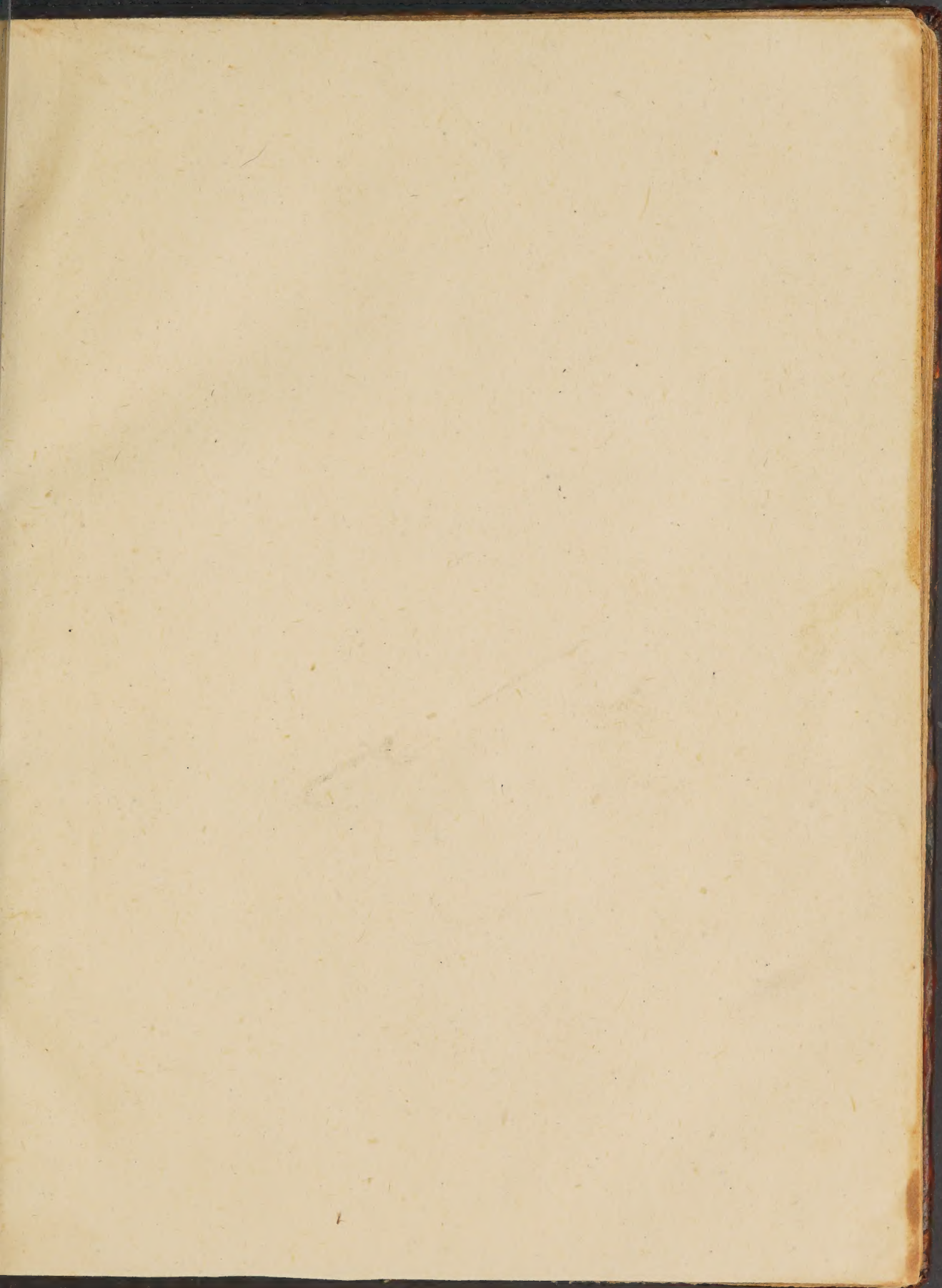
DAILLE'S
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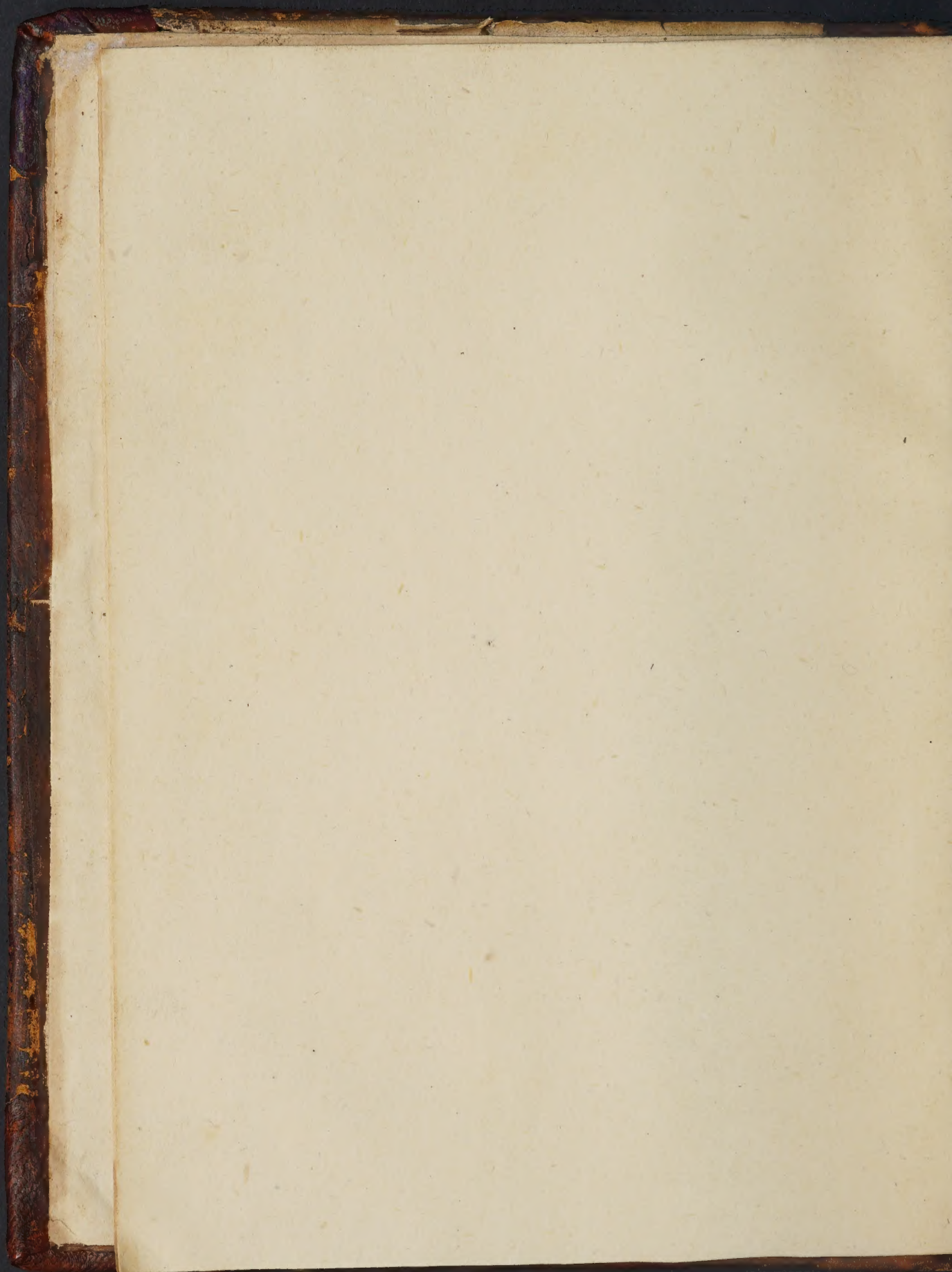


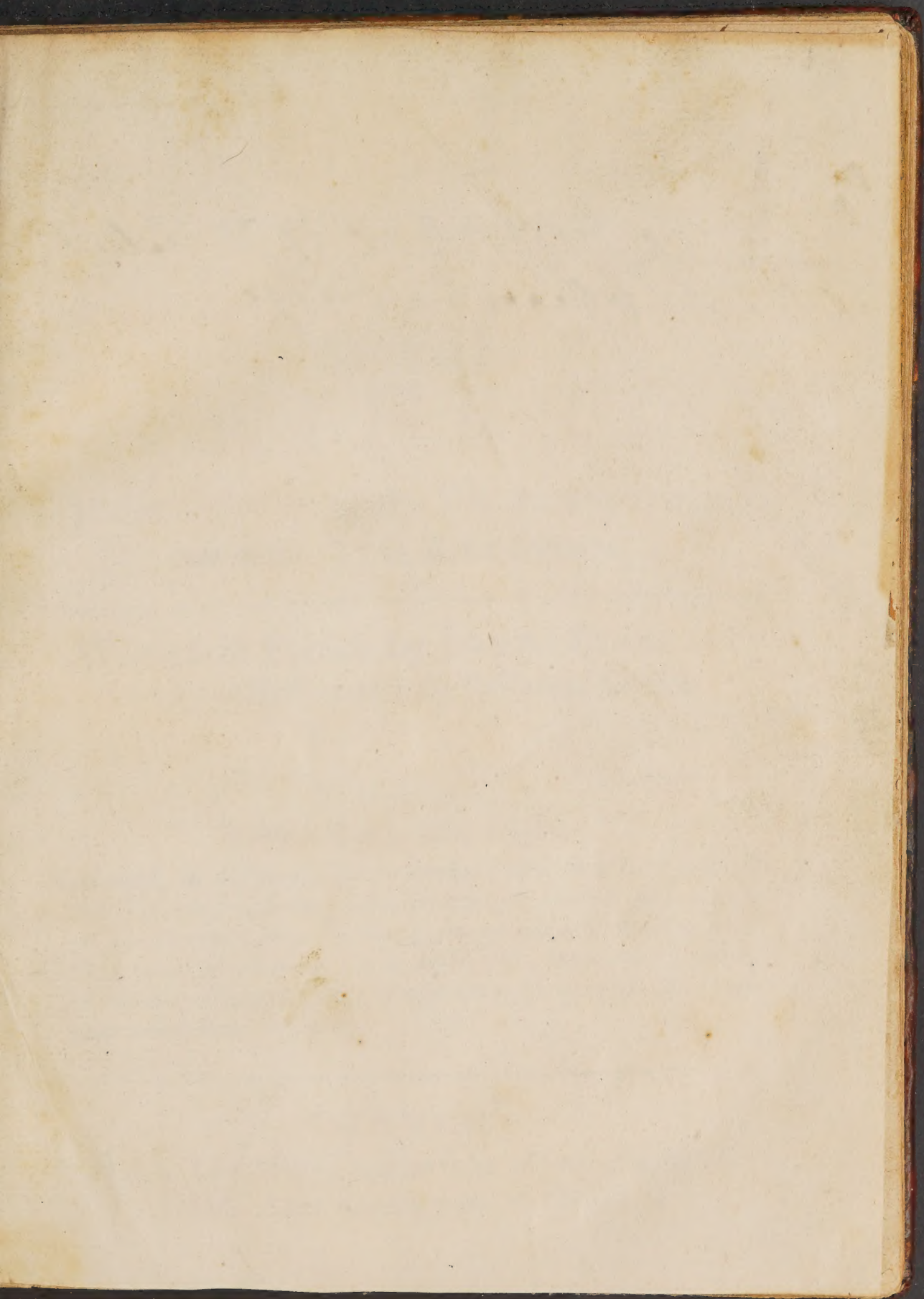




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Translated by Tho: Smith, B.D. Fellow
of Christ's College Cambridge.

A

Daille Gordon Mon. 11
p. 17. 18.

TREATISE

CONCERNING

THE RIGHT VSE

OF THE

FATHERS.

In the **Decision** of the **Controversies** that
are at this day in RELIGION.

Written in French by **JOHN DAILLE**,
Minister of the Gospel in the Reformed Church
at **PARIS**.

Hieron, Apol. adv. Ruffin.

*Fieri potest, ut vel simpliciter erraverint (Scriptores Ecclesiastici)
vel alio sensu scripserint, vel à librariis imperitis eorum paulatim
scripta corrupta sint. Vel certè, antequam in Alexandria quassè
Demonium meridianum Arius nasceretur, innocenter quedam,
& minùs cautè locuti sunt, & quæ non possint perversorum homi-
num calumniam declinare.*

LONDON,

Printed for **John Martin**, and are to be sold at the signe of the
Bell in S. Pauls Church-yard. M D C L I.

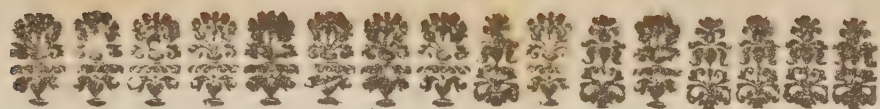
DECEMBER 1841

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1841

ALBANY: J. B. KNEELAND, 1841



To the Noble Lady A N N E M O R N A Y,
Lady of Tabarriere, and Baroness of St. Hermine, &c.

Madam,

IT is now almost four years since, that your Son, the late Baron of St. Hermine, acquainting Me with what manner of Discourse He was ordinarily entertained at Court, by those who laboured to advance the *Roman* Religion, the rather to make him disgust the *Reformed*, told me, that the Chiefest Argument which they urged against Him, was, *Antiquity*, and the *General Consent* of all the Fathers of the First Ages of *Christianity*. And although of himself He understood well enough the Vanity of this Argument of theirs; yet notwithstanding, for His own fuller satisfaction, He desired Me, that I would discover unto Him the very Bottom, and Depth of this business. This therefore I did, as Exactly as Possibly I could, and gave Him My Judgement at Large in this Particular: which Discourse of Mine He was pleased to like so well, that conceiving some hopes from thence, that it might happily be of use to others also, I shortly after put Pen to Paper, and digested it into this Treatise you now see. It having therefore been Composed at first for His service, I had resolved also with my self to have dedicated it to his Name; purposing, by this small Piece of service, to testify to the World the Continuation of the Affection I bare to His Progress in Piety. But that Deadly Blow, which snatched Him from Us in the Flower of His Age, about two years since, at the Famous siege of *Bosleduc*, having left us nothing of Him now, save only the Spoils of His Mortality, and the Memory of His Vertue, together with our Great Sorrow for having enjoyed Him here so short a time; I am constrained, Madam, to change my former Resolution. For, to dedicate My Book to Him, in the State wherein He now is, in Heaven; following the example of many both Ancients and Modern Writers, who have not stuck to direct their Discourses from hence below, to those whom God hath taken up into Heaven; I cannot persuade my self that the practise is either Lawful, or Fit. For, besides the Vanity of the thing, should we hold discourse with one, who, being at so great, and almost Infinite a distance from us, cannot possibly hear what we say, I should account it also, if so be He could hear us, a Point of extream Inhumanity, I had almost said, Impiety, to disturb that Perfect Rest His blessed Soul now enjoyeth; which hath now no more to do with our Debates, or Discourses

The Epistle Dedicatory.

here below; but sees the Truth now in a most Pure Light, and enjoys that everlasting Bliss, wherewith our Saviour hath out of his Mercy crowned His Faith, and Perseverance in the Fear of His Name. I shall therefore content my self with cherishing, and preserving, whilest I live, the precious Memory of His Worth, the Excellency of His Wit, the Soundness of His Judgement, the Sweetness of His Nature, the Fairness of His Carriage, and those other Choice Parts, wherewith He was accomplished; but above all His singular Piety, which clearly shone forth in His Words, and Actions, till the hour of His Death.

And Madam, as for this small Treatise, which was at first conceived and composed for Him, I thought I could not, without being guilty of a piece of Injustice, present it to any other, but Your Self: seeing it hath pleased God, notwithstanding the Common Order of Nature, to make You Heir to Him, to whom it belonged. This Consideration onely hath emboldned Me to present it to Your Hands; knowing that the Nature of this Discourse is not so suitable to that Sorrow which hath of late cast a Cloud over Your House; it having pleased God, after the death of the Son, to deprive You of the Father; and to the Losse of Your Children, to adde that also of Your Noble Husband. But, my desire of avoiding the being Unjust, hath forced Me to be thus Uncivilly Troublesome: seeing I accounted it a kinde of Theft, should I have any longer withheld from You that which was Your Right, by this Sad Title of Inheritance. Be pleased therefore, Madam, to receive this Book, as a part of the Goods of your Deceased Son; which I now honestly restore, in the view of the whole World, after some times Concealment of it in My Study. This Name, I know, will oblige You to afford it some place in Your Closet, which is all that I can at present desire. For, as for the reading of it, besides that Your Exquisite Piety (which is built upon Infinitely much Firmer Grounds, then these Disputes,) hath no need at all of it; I know also, that Your present Condition is such, as that it would be very Troublesome unto You. And if You shall chance to desire to spend some hours in the Perusal of it; it must be hereafter, when the Lord, by the Efficacy of His Spirit, shall have comforted Yours, and shall have allaied the Violence of Your Grief: to whom I pour out My most earnest Prayers, that He would vouchsafe Powerfully to effect the same, and to shed forth His most holy Grace upon You, and Yours; and that He would by His great Mercy preserve, Long, and Happily, that which remaineth of that Goodly, and Blessed Family, which He hath bestowed upon You. This, Madam, is one of the most Hearty Prayers of

Your most Humble, and Obedient
Servant,

Daille.



The Designe of the whole Work.

THe Fathers cannot be the Judges of the Controversies in Religion at this day betwixt the Papist and the Protestant; 1. Because it is, if not an impossible, yet at least a very difficult thing to finde out, what their sense hath been touching the same. 2. Because that their Sense and Judgement of these things, (supposing it to be certainly, and clearly understood,) not being Infallible, and without all danger of Error, cannot carry with it a sufficient Authority for the satisfying the Understanding; which neither can, nor indeed ought to believe any thing, in point of Religion, but what it knows to be certainly True.

The first of these Reasons is proved by these Mediums following.

I. We have very little of the Writings of the Fathers; especially of the First, Second, and Third Centuries, pag. 1.

II. Those Writings which we have, of the Fathers of those times, treat of matters very far different from the Controversies now in hand. p. 8.

III. The Writings, which go under the names of the Fathers, are not all truly such; but are, a great part of them, Supposititious and Forged, either long since, or of later times. p. 11.

IV. Those of the Writings of the Fathers, which are Legitimate, have been in many places corrupted, by Time, Ignorance, and Fraud, both Pious and Malitious, both in the Former, and Later Ages. p. 34.

V. The Writings of the Fathers are hard to be understood, by reason of the Languages, and Idioms they wrote in; the Manner of their Writing, which is for the most part incombred with Figures, and Rhetorical Flourishes, and nice Logical Subtillies, and the like; and also by reason of the Termes which they for the most part used in a far different

The Designe of the whole Work.

different sense, from what they now bear.

p. 69.

VI When we meet with an Opinion clearly delivered, in the Writings of any of the Fathers, we must not from hence conclude, that the said Father held that Opinion: seeing that we often finde them speaking those things, which themselves have not believed; whether it be, when they report the opinion of some other, without naming the persons; (as they frequently do in their Commentaries.) or in disputing against an Adversary; in which kinde of Writing they take liberty to say one thing, and believe another: or whether it be, that they concealed their own private Opinion purposely; as they have done in their Homilies, meerly in compliance to such a part of their Auditory.

p. 100.

VII. Supposing that we are well assured, that a Father hath clearly delivered his Opinion in any Point, we ought notwithstanding to enquire into the time wherein he wrote that Opinion of his; whether it were before, or after he arrived to Ripenesse of Judgement. For we see, that they have sometimes Retracted in their old age, what they had written when they were young.

p. 117.

VIII. But suppose that a Father hath constantly held one Opinion; it will neverthelesse concern us to inquire, How he held it, and in what degree of Belief; whether as Necessary, or Probable onely: and then again, in what degree of Necessity, or of Probability he placed it: Beliefs being not all equally either Necessary, or Probable.

p. 123.

IX. After all this we are to examine, whether or no he deliver this, as his own particular Opinion onely, (for this cannot necessarily binde our faith;) or whether he deliver it, as the Opinion of the Church in his time.

p. 136.

X. In the next place it will concern us to enquire, whether he deliver it for the Judgement of the Church Universal, or of some particular Church onely: those things which have been received by the Major Part, having not alwayes notwithstanding been received by some particular parts of the Church.

p. 144.

XI. And after all this, whether you take the Church for
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The Designe of the whole Work.

the Collective Body of Christians, or onely for the Body of the Clergy, or Pastors; it is notwithstanding Impossible to know, what the Belief of the whole Church in any Age hath been; for as much as it frequently so falls out, that the Opinions of those Men, who have appeared to the world, have not onely not been received, but on the contrary have also been Opposed, and Contradicted by those Members of the same Church, who have not at all appeared to the world; Who notwithstanding, both for their Learning, and Piety, deserved perhaps to have had as much, or more Esteem, and Authority then the other.

P. 151.

The Second Book.

THe second Reason, namely, that neither the Testimony, nor the Preaching of the Fathers is altogether Infallible, is proved by these following Considerations.

P. 1.

II. The Fathers themselves witness against themselves, that they are not to be believed Absolutely, and upon their own bare word.

P. 11.

III. It appeareth plainly, by their Manner of Writing, that they never intended that their Writings should be our Judges.

P. 40.

IV. They have erred in divers Points, not onely Singly, but also many of them together.

P. 60.

V. They have very much contradicted one the other, and have maintained different Opinions, in Matters of great Importance.

P. 12.

VI. Lastly, to say the truth, neither Party alloweth them for Judges; but reject them boldly, and without any scruple, both the one and the other; maintaining diverse things which the Fathers were ignorant of; and rejecting others, which were maintained by them: the Protestants, in those things, where the Fathers have gone either against, or besides the Scripture; the Church of Rome, where they oppose against them the Resolutions of their Popes, or of Councils.

The Designe of the whole Work.

Councils. Seeing therefore that both Parties attribute the Supream Authority to some other Judges, the Fathers, though perhaps their Resolutions should be grounded on Divine Authority, could never be able notwithstanding to clear their Differences, & to reconcile the two Parties. p.126

So that it followeth from hence, that our Controversies are to be decided by some other means, then that of their Writings; and that we are to observe the same Method in Religion, that we do in all other Sciences; making use of those things wherein we all agree, for the clearing of those wherein we differ; comparing exactly the Conclusions of both Parties with their Principles, which are to be acknowledged and granted by both sides; whether it be in Reason, or Divine Revelation. And as for the Fathers we ought to read them carefully and heedfully; and especially without any prejudication on either side; searching their Writings for Their Opinions, and not for our own: arguing Negatively, concerning those things which we finde not in them, rather then Affirmatively; that is to say, holding all those Articles for suspected, which are not found in them; it being a thing altogether Improbable, that those Worthies of the Church were Ignorant of any of the Necessary and Principal Points of Faith: but yet not presently receiving for an Infallible Truth, whatsoever is found in them; for as much as, being but Men, though Saints, they may sometimes have erred, either out of pure Ignorance, or else perhaps out of Passion, which they have not been alwayes wholly free from; as appeareth clearly by those Books of theirs which are left Us.



THE PREFACE.



L the Difference in Religion, which is at this day betwixt the Church of Rome and the Protestants, lies in some certain Points which the Church of Rome maintaineth as important, and necessary Articles of the Christian Faith: Whereas the Protestants on the contrary, neither believe, nor will receive them for such. For, as for those things which the Protestants believe, for their part; and which they conceive to be the Fundamentals of Religion; they are so evidently, and undeniably such, as that even their Adversaries themselves do also allow of, and receive them, as well as they: for as much as they are both clearly delivered in the Scriptures; and expressly set down by the Ancient Councils and Fathers; and are indeed unanimously received by the greatest part of Christians in all Ages, and parts of the World. Such, for example, are these Maxims following: Namely, that there is a God, who supream over all, and who created the Heavens, and the Earth. That having created Man after his own Image, this Man, revolting from his obedience, is fallen, together with his whole Posterity, into most extream & eternal misery, and become infected with sin, as with a Mortal Leprosie, and is therefore obnoxious to the Wrath of God, and liable to his Curse. That the Merciful Creator, pitying Mans estate, graciously sent his Son Jesus Christ into the World: That his Son is God Eternal with him; and that having taken flesh upon himself in the Womb of the Virgin Mary, and become Man; He hath done, and suffered, in this flesh, all things necessary for our salvation, having by this means sufficiently expiated for our sins, by his blood: and that ha-
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The Preface.

ving finished all this, he is ascended again into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; from whence He shall one day come, to judge all mankind, rendering to every one according to their works. That to enable us to communicate of this salvation, by His Merits, He sendeth us down His Holy Spirit, proceeding both from the Father and the Son, and who is also one and the same God with Them; in such sort, as that these Three Persons are notwithstanding but One GOD, who is blessed for ever. That this Spirit enlightens our Understanding, and begets Faith in us, whereby we are justified. That after all this, the LORD sent his Apostles, to preach this Doctrine of Salvation throughout the whole World. That These have planted Churches, and placed in each of them Pastors, and Teachers; Whom we are to hear with all reverence, and to receive from them Baptism, the Sacrament of our Regeneration; and the Holy Eucharist, or Lords Supper, which is the Sacrament of our Communion with Jesus Christ. That we are likewise all of us bound to love GOD, and our Neighbour very fervently; observing diligently that Holy Doctrine which is laid down unto us in the Books of the New Testament, which have been inspired by His Spirit of Truth; as also those other of the Old; there being nothing, either in the one, or in the other, but what is most true. These Articles, and some other few the like, which there perhaps may be, are the substance of the Protestants whole Belief: And if all other Christians would but content themselves with these, there would never be any Schism in the Church. But now their Adversaries adde to these many other Points, which they presse, and command men to believe, as necessarie ones; and such, as without believing of which, there is no possible hope of salvation. As for example: That the Pope of Rome is the Head, and supream Monarch of the whole Christian Church throughout the World. That He, or at least the Church which he acknowledgeth a true one, cannot possibly erre in matter of Faith. That the Sacrament of the Eucharist is to be adored, as being really

Jesus

The Preface.

Jesus Christ, and not a piece of Bread. That the Masse is a Sacrifice, that really expiates the sins of the Faithful. That Christians may, and ought to have in their Churches the Images of God, and of Saints, to which they are to use Religious Worship, bowing down before them. That it is lawful, and also very useful, to pray to Saints departed and to Angels. That our souls after death, before they enter into Heaven, are to passe through a certain Fire, and there to endure grievous torments; thus satisfying for their sins. That one neither may, nor ought to receive the holy Eucharist, without having first confessed himself in private to a Priest. That none, but the Priest himself that consecrated the Eucharist, is bound by right to receive it in both kinds: and a great number of other Opinions, which their Adversaries protest plainly, that they cannot with a safe conscience believe. And these points are the ground of the whole difference betwixt them; the one party pretending, that they have been believed, & received by the Church of Christ in all Ages, as revealed by Him: and the other maintaining the contrary. Now seeing that, none of these Tenets having any ground from any passage in the New Testament (which is the most Ancient, and Authentick Rule of Christianity,) the maintainers are fain to fly to the writings of the Doctors of the Church, which lived within the four or five first Centuries after the Apostles, who are commonly called the Fathers: my purpose is in this Treatise to examine, whether or no this be a good & sufficient means, for the decision of these differences. And for this purpose I must first presuppose Two things, which any reasonable person will easily grant me. The First is, that the Question being here, about laying a Foundation for certain Articles of Faith, upon the Testimonies, or Opinions of the Fathers, it is very necessary that the Passages which are produced out of them be clear, and not to be doubted of; that is to say, such as we cannot reasonably scruple at, either touching the Author, out of whom they are alleaged; or the sense of the place, whether it signifie what is pretended to. For a Deposition of a Witness,

The Preface.

and the sentence of a Judge being of no value at all, save only for the reputation of the Witness, or Judge; it is most evident, that if either proceed from persons unknown, or suspected, they are invalid, and prove nothing at all. In like manner, if the Deposition of a Witness, or sentence of a Judge be obscure, and in doubtful Terms; it is clear, that in this case the business must rest undecided; there being another doubt first to be cleared, namely, what the meaning of either of them was. The second Point that I shall here lay down for a Foundation to the ensuing Discourse, is no lesse evident then the former: Namely, That to allow a sufficiency to the Writings of the Fathers, for the deciding of these Controversies, we must necessarily attribute to their persons very great authority; and such as may oblige us to follow their judgement in matters of Religion. For, if this Authority be wanting, how clear, and expresse so ever their Opinions be, in the Articles now controverted, it will do nothing at all toward their Decision. We have therefore here two things to examine in this business: The first is, whether or not we may be able now certainly, and clearly to know, what the Opinion of the Fathers hath been touching the Differences now in hand. The second, whether their Authority be such, as that what ever faithful person shall clearly & certainly know, what their Opinion hath been in any one Article of Christian Religion, he is thereby bound to receive that Article for True. For, if the Church of Rome be but able to prove both these Points, it is then without all dispute that their Proceeding is good, and agreeable to the end proposed, there being so many of the Ancient Fathers Writings alleaged at this day by them. But if on the contrary side, either of these Two things, or both of them be indeed found to be doubtful; I should think that any Man of a very mean Judgement should be able to conclude of himself; that this way of Proof, which they have hitherto made use of, is very Insufficient; and that therefore they of necessity ought to have recourse to some other more proper and solid way in the proof of the Truth of the said Opinions, which the Protestants will not by any means receive.

THE



THE FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

REASON I. *Touching the Difficulty of knowing the sense of the Fathers, in reference to the present Controversies in Religion; drawn from hence: Namely, because there is very little extant of Their Writings, for the Three First Centuries,*

IF we should in this particular take the same Course, which some Writers of the Church of Rome make use of, against the Holy Scriptures; it would be a very easie matter to bring in Question, and render very doubtful, and suspected, all the Writings of the Fathers. For, when any one alleageth the Old, or New Testament, these Gentlemen presently demand, How, or by what means they know, that any such Books were truly written by those Prophets, and Apostles, under whose names they go. If therefore, in like manner, when these Men urge *Justin, Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine*, and the like, one should take them short, and demand of them, How, and by what means they are assured, that these Fathers were the Authors of those Writings, which at this day go under their names; it is very much to be doubted but that they would finde a harder task of it, then their Adversaries, in justifying the Inscriptions of the Books of Holy

Writ; the truth whereof is much more easie to be demonstrated, then of any Humane Writings whatsoever. But I shall pass by this too-artificial way of proceeding; and onely say, that it is no very easie matter to finde out, by the Writings of the Fathers, what hath really been their Opinion, in any of those Controversies, which are now in debate, betwixt the Protestant and the Church of Rome. The Considerations, which render the knowledge of this so difficult, are many: I shall therefore in this first part handle some of them onely, referring the rest to the Later, examining them one after another.

The first Reason therefore, which I shall lay down for the proving of this Difficulty, is, The little we have extant of the Writings of the Ancient Fathers, especially of the First, Second, and Third Centuries; which are those, we are most especially to regard. For, seeing that one of the principal Reasons that moveth the Church of Rome to alledge the Writings of the Fathers, is to shew the truth of their Tenets, by the Antiquity, which they reckon as a Mark of it; it is most evident, that the most Ancient ought to be the most taken notice of. And indeed, there is no question to be made, but that the Christian Religion was more pure, and without mixture, in its beginnings and Infancy, then it was afterwards in its growth and progress: it being the ordinary course of things, to contract corruptions, more or less, according as they are more or less removed from their first Institution: As we see by experience in States, Laws, Arts and Languages; the Natural Propriety of all which is continually declining, after they have once passed the Point of their Vigour, and as it were the flower and prime of their strength, and perfection. Now I cannot believe, that any faithful Christian will deny, but that Christianity was in its Height, and Perfection in the time of the blessed Apostles: And indeed it would be the greatest injury that could be offered them, to say, that any of their successours have either had a greater desire, or more abilities,

lities, to advance Christianity, then They had. It will hence follow then, that those times which were nearest to the Apostles, were necessarily the purest, and lesse subject to suspicion of Corruptions, either in Doctrine, or in Manners, and Christian Discipline: it being but reasonable to believe, that if there be any Corruptions crept into the Church, they came in by little and little, and by degrees; as it happens in all other things. If any one shall here object, that even the very next Age immediately after the times of the Apostles was not without its Errours, if we may believe *Hegesippus*; who, as he is cited by *Eusebius*, witnesseth, that the Church continued a Virgin, till the Emperour *Trajan's* time; but, that after the death of the Apostles, the conspiracy of Errour began to discover it self with open face. I shall not oppose any thing against this testimony; but shall only say, that if the Enemy, immediately upon the setting of these Stars of the Church, their Presence and Light being scarcely shut in, had yet the boldness presently to fall to sowing his evil seed; how much more had he opportunity to do this in those Ages which were further removed from their Times; when as the Sanctity and Simplicity of these great Teachers of the World having now by little and little vanished out of the memories of Men, Humane Inventions, and new Fancies began to take place. So that we may however conclude, that supposing that Christianity, even in the First Ages, hath not been altogether exempt from alteration in Doctrine; yet are they much more free from it, then the succeeding Ages can pretend to be; and are therefore consequently to be preferred before them in all respects: it being here something like what the Poëts have fancied of the Four Ages of the World; where the succeeding Age alwayes came.

Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 26.
 ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων
 παρθένη καὶ ἀδιάφθο-
 ρον ἔμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, &c. ὡς
 δὲ ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸς
 διάφορον εἰλήφει τὸ εἰς τέλος,
 παρεληλύθει τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην
 τῶν αὐταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ἐνδεσ-
 φίας ἐπακῆσαι κατηξιωμένων,
 τλωικαῦτα τῆς ἀδελφῆς πλάνης
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάβανεν ἡ σύνα-
 σις, διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐτεροδιδασκά-
 λων ἀπάτης, οἱ καὶ αὐτὲς μηδεὶς
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων λειπομένους, συμ-
 νῇ λοιπὸν ἦδη τῇ κεφαλῇ τῷ τῆς
 ἀληθείας κηρύσματος τὴν ἰδιω-
 νυμον γνώσιν ἀντικηρύττειν ἐ-
 πεχείρουσιν.

Cassand. Con-
sult. Ferdinan.
p 894.
Perron. Epist.
to Casaub.

Cypr. ep. 74.
p. 195.

came short of the Former. For, as for the opinion of those Men, who think the best way, to finde out the true sense of the Ancient Church, will be, to search the Writings of those of the Fathers chiefly who lived betwixt the time of *Constantine* the Great, till Pope *Leo*, or till Pope *Gregories* time; that is to say, from the end of the Third Century, till the beginning of the Seventh. I take this, as a Confession only of the small number of Books that are left us of those Ages before *Constantine*, and not that these Men allow, that the Authority of these Three later Ages, ought to be preferred to that of the Three Former. If we had but as much Light, and as clear Evidences of the Belief of the one, as we have of the other, I make no question but they would prefer the Former. But if they mean otherwise, and are indeed of a perswasion, that the Church was really more pure after *Constantines* time, then before; they must excuse me, if I think, that they by this means confess the distrust they have of their own Cause, seeing they endeavour to get off as far as they can from the Light of the Primitive times; retreating back to those Ages, wherein it is most evident there was both lesse Perfection, and light, then before: running clean contrary to that excellent Rule which *S. Cyprian* hath given us: That we should have recourse to the Fountain, when ever the Chancel, and stream of Doctrine, and Ecclesiastical Tradition is found to be any whit corrupted. But however, let their meaning be what it will, their words, in my judgement, do not a little advantage the Protestants Cause; it being a very clear Confession, that those Opinions, about which they contest with them, do not at all appear clearly in any of the Books that were written during the Three First Centuries. For if they were found clearly in the same, what policy were it then in them to appeal to the Writers of the Three Following Centuries, to which they very well know, that their Adversaries attribute lesse, then to the Former? But besides this Tacite Confes-

Confession of theirs, the thing is evident; namely, that there is left us at this day very little of the Writings of the Fathers of the Three First Centuries of Christianity, for the deciding of our Differences. The blessed Christians of those times contented themselves, for the greatest part of them, with writing the Christian Faith in the hearts of Men, by the beams of their sanctity, and holy life, and by their blood shed in Martyrdom, without much troubling themselves with the writing of Books: Whether it were, because, as learned *Origen* elegantly gives the reason, they were of Opinion that the Christian Religion was to be defended by the Innocency of Life, and honesty of Conversation, rather than by Sophistry, and the Artifice of words: or whether, because their continual sufferings gave them not leisure to take Pen in hand, and to write Books; or else, whether it were for some other reason perhaps, which we know not. But this we are very well assured of, that except the Writings of the Apostles, there was very little written by others in these Primitive Times: which was the cause of so much trouble to *Eusebius* in the beginning of his History, having little or no light to guide him in his undertaking, and treading, as himself saith, in a new path, un-*beaten by any that had gone before him*. Besides the greatest part of those few Books, which were written by the Christians of those Times, have not come down to our hands, but were lost, either through the injury of Time, that consumeth all things; or else have been made away by the malice of Men, who have made bold to suppress, and smother whatsoever they met with, that was not wholly to their gust. Of this sort were those Five Books of *Papias*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, the Apology of *Quadratus Atheniensis*, and that other of *Aristides*, the Writings of *Castor Agrippa*, against the XXIV Books of the Heretick *Basilides*; the Five Books of *Hegesippus*, the Works of *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, *Apollinaris* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, the Epistle of

Orig. Praef. Operis contra Cels. P. 1, 2.

Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. i. Oὐδ' πῶς ἐγίνετο καὶ ἀπεβῆναι ὁδοὺ ἐσχεῖσθαι.

B.

Pinytus.

*Hieron. l. de
Scriptor. Eccl.
Euseb. in hist.
passim. Tertul.
aliquorum me-
minit.*

Pinytus Candiote, the Writings of *Philippus*, *Musanius*, *Modestus*, *Bardefanes*, *Pantenus*, *Rhodon*, *Miltiades*, *Apollonius*, *Serapion*, *Bacchylus*, *Polycrates*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, *Heraclius*, *Maximus*, *Hammonius*, *Tryphon*, *Hippolytus*, *Julius*, *Africanus*, *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, and others, of whom we have no more left, save onely their names, and the Titles of their Books, which are preserved in *Eusebius*, *S. Hierome*, and others. All that we have left us of these times, which is certainly known to be theirs, and that no Man doubts of, is, some certain Discourses of *S. Justin* the Philosopher, and Martyr, who wrote his second Apology a hundred and fifty yeers after the Nativity of our Saviour Christ: the Five Books of *S. Irenaeus*, who wrote not long after him: Three excellent, and learned Pieces of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who lived toward the end of the Second Century: diverse Books of *Tertullian*, who was famous about the same time: the Epistles and other Treatises of *S. Cyprian*, Bishop of *Carthage*, who suffered Martyrdom about the yeer of our Saviour CCLXI: the Writings of *Arnobius*, and of *Lactantius*, his scholer, and some few others. For as for *Origen*, *S. Cyprian*s Contemporary, who alone, had we but all his Writings entire, would be able perhaps to give us more light, and satisfaction in the business we are now upon, then all the rest; we have but very little of him left us, and the greatest part of that too most miserably abused, and corrupted; the most learned, and almost innumerable Writings of this great and incomparable person, not being able to withstand the violence of Time, nor the envy and malice of Men, who have dealt much worse with him, then so many Ages, and Centuries of years that have passed, from his time down to us. And thus have I given you an account of well nigh all that we have left us, which is certainly known to have been written by the Fathers of the Three First Centuries. For as for those other Pieces, which are pretended to have been written in the same times, but are indeed either

con-

confessed to be supposititious by the Romanists themselves, or are rejected by their Adversaries, and that upon very good and probable Grounds; these are not to have any place at all, or account here, in clearing the Controversie we have now in hand.

The writings of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries have, I confess, out-gone the Former for number, and good Fortune too; the greatest part of them having come down safe to our hands: but they come much short of the other in Weight and Authority; especially in the judgement of the Protestants, who maintain, and that upon very probable Grounds too, that the Christian Religion hath from the beginning had its declinings by little and little, losing in every Age some certain degree of its Primitive and Native Purity. And besides, we have good cause perhaps to fear, lest the multitude of Writers of these Two Ages, trouble us as much, as the paucity of them in the Three preceding: and that, as before we suffered under scarcity, we now be overwhelmed with their Multitude. For the Multitude of Words, and of Books, serves as much sometimes to the suppressing of the sense and opinion of any Publick Body, as Silence it self; our mindes being then extreamly confounded, and perplexed, while it labours to apprehend, what is the True and Common Opinion of the Whole, amidst so many differently-biassed Particulars, whereof each endeavours to express the same: it being most certain, that amongst so great and almost infinite variety of Spirits, and Tongues, you shall very hardly meet with two Persons, that shall deliver to you one and the same Opinion, (especially in matters of so high a Nature, as the Controversies in Religion are,) after the same form, and way of representation, how unanimous soever their consent may otherwise be in the same Opinion. And this Variety, although it be but in the Circumstances of the thing, makes notwithstanding the Foundation it self to appear different also.



CHAP. II.

Reason II. That those Writings which we have of the Fathers of the First Centuries, treat of matters very far different from the present Controversies in Religion.

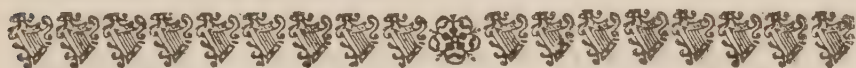
BUT suppose that neither the want of Books in the Three First Centuries, nor yet the abundance of them in the Three following, should bring along with it these inconveniencies; it will however be very hard to discover out of them, what the Opinion of their Authors hath been, touching those Points of Christian Religion now controverted. For the matters whereof They treat, are of a very different nature; these Authors, according as the necessity of their times required, employing themselves either in justifying the Christian Religion, and vindicating it from the aspersion of such crimes, where-with it was most falsely, and injuriously charged; or else in laying open to the World the Absurdity, and impiety of Paganism; or in convincing the hard-hearted Jews; or in confuting the prodigious fooleries of the Hereticks of those times; or in exhortations to the Faithful to Patience and Martyrdom; or in expounding some certain Passages, and Portions of the Holy Scripture: all which things have very little to do with the Controversies of these times; of which they never speak syllable, unless they accidentally or by chance let a word drop from them toward this side, or that side, yet without the least thought of us, or of our Controversies; although both the one, and the other party sometimes lights upon passages, wherein they conceive they have

have discovered their own Opinions clearly delivered, though in vain for the most part, and without ground : just as he did , that hearing a ring of Bells , thought they perfectly sounded out unto him, what he in his own thoughts had fancied. *Justin Martyr*, and *Tertullian*, *Theophilus*, and *Lactantius*, *Clemens*, and *Arnobius* shew the Heathen the vainness of their Religion, and of their gods ; and that *Jupiter* and *Juno* were but Mortals ; and that there is but one onely God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth. *Irenaeus* bends his whole forces against the Prodigious Opinions of *Baslides*, the *Valentinians* , and other *Gnosticks*. who were the inventors of the most Chimærical Divinity, that ever came into the Fancy of Man. *Tertullian* also whips them, as they well deserve it ; but he especially takes *Marcion*, *Hermogenes*, *Apelles*, *Praxeas*, and others to task ; who maintained, that there were Two Gods ; or Two Principles, and confounded the Persons of the Father and the Son. *Cyprian* is wholly upon the Discipline, and the Vertues of the Christian Church. *Arius*, *Macedonius*, *Eunomius*, *Photinus*, *Pelagius* , and afterwards, *Nestorius*, and *Eutyches* , made work for the Fathers of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. The blasphemies of these Men against the Person, or the Natures of our Saviour Christ, or against the Holy Ghost and its Grace, which have now of a long time lay buried, and forgotten, were the Matters debated in those times, and the subject of the greatest part of the Books then written, that have come to our hands. What Relation hath any thing of all this to the business of Transubstantiation, and the Adoration of the Eucharist, or the Monarchy of the Pope, or the Necessity of Auricular Confession, or the Worshipping of Images, and the like Points, which are the business of the present Controversies, and which none of the Ancients hath handled expressly, and of set purpose , and perhaps too, never so much as thought of ? It is very true indeed, that the silence of these Fathers in these Points, which some set so

much by, is not wholly mute; and perhaps also it may pass for a very clear Testimony; but certainly not on their side who maintain them affirmatively. But however, this is a most certain Truth, that throughout the whole Body of the genuine Writings of these Fathers, you shall not meet with any thing expressly urged, either for, or against the greatest part of these Opinions. I shall most willingly confess, that the belief of every Wise man makes up but One entire Body, the parts whereof have a certain correspondence, and relation to each other; in such sort, as that a Man may be able, by those things which he delivers expressly, to give a guess, what his Opinion is touching other things, which he declares himself not at all in: it being a thing utterly improbable that he maintains any one Position which shall manifestly clash with his other Tenets; or that he rejects any thing, that necessarily followeth upon them. But besides that this manner of Disputation presupposeth, that the Belief of the Ancient Fathers hangs all close together, no one Position contradicting another, but having all its parts united, and depending one upon another; which notwithstanding is not altogether unquestionable, as we shall shew elsewhere: besides all this, I say, it requireth also a sharp, piercing wit, which readily, and clearly apprehends the connexions of each several Point; an excellent Memory, to retain faithfully what ever Positions the Ancients have maintained; and a solid Iudgement, free from all Pre-occupation, to compare them with the Tenets maintained at this day: and what Man soever is endued with all these qualities, I shall account him the fittest Man to make profitable use of the Writings of the Fathers, and the likeliest of any, to search into the bottom of them. But the mischief of it, is, that Men so qualified are very rare, and hard to be found. I shall adde here, that if you will believe some certain Writers of the Church of Rome, this whole Method is vain, and useles; as is also that, which makes use of Argumentation

*Gontery, Ver-
ron, & others.*

gumentation, and Reason; means which are insufficient, and unable (in the judgement of these Doctors) to bring us to any certainty; especially in matters of Religion: wherein their Opinion is, we are to relye upon clear and expresse Texts onely. So that, according to this account, we will not, if we be wise, believe that the Fathers held any of the aforementioned Points, unless we can finde them in expresse terms delivered in their Writings; that is to say, in the very same terms that we reade them, in the Decrees and Canons of the Council of Trent. Seeing then that according to the opinion of these Men, those Testimonies onely are to be received, which are expresse; and likewise, that of these Points now controverted, there is scarcely any thing found expressly delivered by the Fathers: we may, in my opinion, very Logically, and reasonably conclude, that it is, if not an impossible, yet at least a very difficult thing, (according to these Men) to come to the certain knowledge of the Opinion of the Ancients touching the greatest part of the Tenets of the Church of Rome, which are at this day rejected by the Protestants.



CH A P. III.

Reason III. That those Writings which go under the names of the Ancient Fathers, are not all truly such; but a great part of them supposititious, and forged, either long since, or of later times.

I Come now to more important Considerations; these Two Former, though they are not in themselves to be despised, or neglected, being yet but triviall ones in respect of those which follow. For there is so great a confusion in the most part of these Books whereof we speak,
that

that it is a very hard thing, truly to finde out, who were their Authors, and what the meaning, and sense of them is. The first Difficulty proceeds from the infinite number of Forged Books, which are falsely attributed to the Ancient Fathers: The like having hapned also in all sorts of Learning, and Sciences: in so much that the Criticks at this day are sufficiently troubled, in discovering both in Philosophy, and Humanity, which are Forged, and supposititious Pieces, and which are true and Legitimate. But this Abuse hath not reigned any where more grossly, and taken to itself more liberty, then toward the Ecclesiastical Writers. All Men complain on this, both on the one side, and on the other, and labour all they can to deliver us from these Confusions, though oftentimes with little success, by reason of the eagerness of their Passion, by which they are carried away; ordinarily judging of Books according to their own Interest, rather then the Truth, and rejecting all those that any whit contradict Them, but defending those which speak of Their side; how good, or bad soever they otherwise chance to be. So that to say the Truth, they judge, not of their own Opinions by the Writings of the Fathers, but, of the Writings of the Fathers by their own Opinions. If they speak with Us, it is then *Cyprian* and *Chrysostome*; if not, it is some Ignorant Modern Fellow, or else some Malicious Person, who would fain cover his own filthiness under the rich garment of these Excellent Persons. Now if it were Passion only, that rendered the business obscure, we should be able easily to quit our hands of it, by stripping it, and laying it open to the World; and all moderate Men would finde enough to rest satisfied with. But the worst of it is, that this Obscurity oftentimes falls out to be in the things themselves; so that it is a very hard, and sometimes an impossible thing, to clear them; whether it be by reason of the Antiquity of the Errour, or else by reason of the near resemblance of the False to the True. For these Forgeries are not new, and of yesterday;

yesterday; but the Abuse hath been on foot above Fourteen hundred yeers. It is the complaint of the greatest part of the Fathers, that the Hereticks, to gain their own Dreams the greater Authority, vented them under the names of some of the most eminent Writers in the Church, and even of the Apostles themselves. *Amphilochius*, Bishop of *Iconium*, who was so much esteemed by the great *S. Basil*, Archbishop of *Cæsarea*, wrote a particular Tract on this Subject, alleaged by the Fathers of the Seventh Council, against a certain Passage produced by the *Iconoclasts* out of I know not what idle Treatise, intituled, *The Travels of the Apostles*. And I would to God that Tract of this Learned Prelate were now extant! if it were, it would perhaps do us good service in discovering the Vanity of very many ridiculous Pieces, which now pass up and down the World, under the names of the Primitive, and most Ancient Christians. *S. Hierome* rejecteth divers Apocryphal Books, which are published under the names of the Apostles, and of their first Disciples; as namely, of *S. Peter*, of *Barnabas*, and others. The Gospel of *S. Thomas*, and the Epistle to the *Laodiceans*, are put in the same rank by the Seventh Council. Now if these wretched Knaves have been thus sawcy with the Apostles, as to make use of Their names; how much more likely is it, that they would not stick to make as bold with the Fathers? And indeed this kinde of Imposture hath alwayes been very ordinary. Thus we reade, that the *Nestorians* sometime published an Epistle under the name of *S. Cyril of Alexandria*, in the defence of *Theodorus*, Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, who was the Author, and first broacher of their Heresie: and likewise that the *Eutychists* also vented certain Books of *Apollinaris*, under the Title of, *The Orthodox Doctors*, only to abuse the simple People. *Leontius* hath written an expresse Tract on this Subject; wherein he shews, that these Men abused particularly the names of *S. Gregory of Neocæsarea*, of *Julius* Bishop of Rome, and of *Athanasius*.

Hegeſippus
apud Euseb.
l.4.c.22.

Concil.7.Aſ.5
Tom.3 p.552.

Hier.l.de ſcrip.
Eccleſ. Tom.1.
p.346. B. &
350. C.

Concil.7.Aſ.6

Concil. 5. Col-
lat.6.

Marian. ep. ad
Mon. Alex.ad
calcem Concil.
Chalc. T.2. p.
450. E.
Leont. lib.ex-
tat. Bibl. SS.
PP.T.4. part.2

Greg. Thau-
mat. op. Par.
an. 1622. pag.
97. ubi vide
Voss.

Bibl. SS. PP.
T. 1. Gr. Lat.

Cencil. 6. Añ. 3.
& Añ. 14. T. 3.
Cencil.

Cencil. 6. Añ. 3.
& Añ. 14. T. 3.
Cencil.

Cencil. 7. Añ. 6.
Refut. Icono-
clast. Tom. 5.

Cencil. Fle-
rent. Sess. 20.
T. 4.

sius Bishop of Alexandria : and he also saith particularly, that the Book intituled, *ἡ κατὰ μέγεθος πίστις*, A particular Exposition of the Faith, which is delivered unto us by Turrianus the Jesuite, Gerardus Vossius, and the last Edition of *Gregorius Neocæsariensis*, for a true and Legitimate Piece of the said S. Gregory, is not truly His, but the Bastard Issue of the Heretick *Apollinaris*. And the like judgement do the Publishers of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* give, of the XII *Anathema's*, which are commonly attributed to the same S. Gregory. The *Monothelites* also, taking the same course, forged an Oration under the name of *Menas*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and directed to *Vigilius*, Bishop of Rome : and two other Books under the name of the same *Vigilius*, directed to *Iustinian* and *Theodora* ; wherein Their Heresie is in express terms delivered ; and these three Pieces were afterward inserted into the body of the Fifth Council, and kept in the Library of the Patriarchs Palace in *Constantinople*. But this Imposture was discovered, and convinced in the VI Council : for otherwise, who would not have been deceived by it, seeing these False Pieces in so Authentick a Copy ? I bring but these few examples, to give the Reader but a taste onely of what the Hereticks not onely dared, but were able also to do, in this particular : and all these things were done before the end of the seventh Century, that is to say, above nine hundred years ago. Since which time, in all the Disputes about the Images in Churches, and in the Differences betwixt the Greek and Latine Churches, and indeed in the most part of all other Ecclesiasticall Contestations, you shall finde nothing more frequent, then the mutual Reproaches that the several Parties cast at each other, accusing each other of forging the Pieces of Authors which they produced each of them in defence of their own Cause. Judge you therefore, whether or not the Hereticks, using the same Artifice, and the same diligence, now for the space of so many Centuries since, though in different

different causes; may not in all probability have furnished us with a sufficient stock of spurious Pieces, sent abroad under the names of the Ancient Fathers by their professed Enemies? And do but think whether or no we may not chance to converse with an Heretick sometimes, when we think we have a Father before us; and a professed Enemy, disguised under the mask of a Friend? So that it will hence follow, that it may justly be feared, that we sometimes receive, and deliver for Maxims, and Opinions of the Ancient Church, no better then the very Dreams of the Ancient Hereticks. For we must conceive, that they were not so foolish, as to discover their Venome at the first dash, in the height of their Heretical Positions; but rather, that they onely cunningly cast in here and there some sprinklings of it, laying the foundation of their Heresie as it were a far off onely; which makes the knavery the more hard to be discovered, and so consequently the more dangerous. But supposing that this Jugling Trick of the Hereticks may have very much corrupted the Old Books; yet notwithstanding, had we no other spurious Pieces, then what had been forged by them, it would be no very hard matter, to distinguish the True from the False. But that which renders the Evil almost uncurable, is, that even in the Church itself this kinde of Forgery hath been both very Ordinary, and very Ancient. I impute a great part of the cause of this Mischief to those Men, who before the Invention of Printing, were the Transcribers, and Copiers out of Manuscripts: of whose negligence and boldness in corrupting of Books, S. Hierome very much complained even in his time: *Scribunt (saith he) non quod inveniunt, sed quod intelligunt; & dum alienos errores emendare nituntur, ostendunt suos*: That is, *They write, not what the finde, but what they understand; and whilest they endeavour to correct others mens errors, they shew their own.* We may very well presume, that what liberty these Men took in corrupting, they took the same in forging Books.

Hier. Ep. 28.
ad Lucin. Tit.
I.

too : especially since this last course was beneficial to them ; which the other was not. For by altering or corrupting the Books they wrote , they could not make any advantage to themselves : whereas in forging new Books , and venting them under great , and Eminent Names , they put them off both faster , and dearer . So likewise if there came to their hands any Book , that had either no Authors name ; or having any , it was but an obscure , or a tainted one ; to the end that these Evil Marks might not prejudice the venting of it , they would rase it out without any more ado , and inscribe it presently , with some one of the most Eminent , and Venerable Names that was in the Church ; that so the Reputation , and Favour , that That Name had found in the World , might be a meanes of the better putting off their false Wares . As for example ; the name of *Novatianus* , who was the Head of a Schism against the Roman Church , became justly to be odious to Christian ears : as that of *Tertullian* was the more esteemed , both for the Age , Wit , and Learning , of the Person . Now the Transcriber , considering this with himself , without any other designe , or end , then onely of his own private gain , hath in my judgement , made an exchange , attributing to *Tertullian* that Book of the *Trinity* , which is indeed *Novatianus* his ; as we are given to understand also by *S. Hierome* . And I am of opinion , that both the birth , and fortune of that other Piece *De Pœnitentia* hath been , if not the very same , yet at least not much unlike that of the other . So likewise that Book which beareth Title , *De operibus Cardinalibus Christi* , which was composed , and sent by the Author of it to one of the Popes , without setting down his name , as himself there testifies , hath been vented abroad under the name of *S. Cyprian* , onely because by this means it is the more profitable to the Manuscript-monger ; and it hath formerly alwayes passed , and doth still passe for His ; notwithstanding that , in my judgement , it is clear enough that

*Hier. Apol. 2.
cont. Ruff.*

*Auctor operis,
De operibus
Card. Christi,
inter Cyprian.
oper. p. 444.*

that it cannot be his, as is ingeniously confessed by † *ve-† Erasmus in*
 ry many of the Learned, both of the one, and of the other *edit. Cyp. sua.*
 side. *Ruffinus* had some name in the Church, though no- *Sixtus Senens.*
 thing neer so great a one as *Cyprian* had: and this is the *Biblioth. l. 4.*
 reason, why the aforementioned Merchants have inscribed *Bellar. de Eu-*
 with s. *Cyprians* name that Treatise upon the Apostles *char. l. 2. cap. 9.*
Creed, which was written by *Ruffinus*. Besides the A- *De amiss. grat.*
 varice of these *Librarii*; their own Ignorance, or at least *l. 5. c. 2. Posse-*
 of those whom they consulted, hath in like manner pro- *vin. in Appar.*
 duced no small number of these spurious Pieces. For *Scult. Medul-*
 when either the likeness of the Name, or of the Stile, or of *la Parr. Andr.*
 the Subject treated of, or any other seeming reason gaye *Rivet. l. 2. c. 15.*
 them occasion to believe, that such an Anonymous Book *Crit. Sacr.*
 was the Work of such or such an Ancient Author; they *Aubert de Eu-*
 presently copyed it out, under the said Authors Name; *char. l. 2. ch. 8.*
 and thus it came from thenceforth to be received by the
 World for such, and by them to be delivered for such
 over to Posterity. But all the blame is not to be laid up-
 on the Transcribers only, in this particular: the Authors
 themselves have contributed very much to the promo-
 ting of this kinde of Imposture. For there have been
 found in all Ages some, that have been so sottishly am-
 bitious; and so desirous, at what rate soever, to have
 their Conceptions published to the World; as that find-
 ing they should never be able to please, and get applause
 abroad of themselves, they have vented them under the
 name of some of the Fathers; chusing rather to see them
 received, and honoured, under this false Habit, then
 disdained, and slighted, under their own true one. These
 Men, according as their several Abilities have been, have
 imitated the Stile, and Fancy of the Fathers, either more,
 or less happily; and have boldly presented these Issues
 of their own brain-~~to~~ the World, under their Names.
 The World, the greatest part whereof hath alwayes
 been the least subtle, hath very readily collected, preser-
 ved, and cherished these False Births, and hath by de-
 grees filled all their Libraries with them. Others have
 been

been moved to use the same Artifice, not out of Ambition, but some other irregular Fancy; as those Men have done, who, having had a particular affection, either to such a Person, or to such an Opinion, have faln to write of the same, under the name of some Author of good Esteem and Reputation with the World, to make it pass the more currantly abroad: Just as that Priest did, who

Hier. de script. Eccl. Tom. 1. p. 350. Ex Ter- tul. lib. de Baptismo, cap. 17. published a Book, entituled, *The Acts of s. Paul, and of Tecla*; and being convinced of being the Author of it, in the presence of *S. John*, he plainly confessed, that the love that he bare to *S. Paul* was the onely cause that moved him to do it. Such was the boldness also of *Ruffi-*

Hier. l. 2. Apol. contr. Ruffin. Tom. 2. p. 334. & Ep. 69. T. 2. & Apol. contr. Ruff. ad Pam- mach. et Marc. Tom. 2. nus, a Priest of *Aquileia*, (whom *S. Hierome* justly reprehendeth so sharply, and in so many places) who to vindicate *Origens* honour, wrote an Apology for him, under the name of *Pamphilus*, a holy and renowned Martyr; although the truth of it is, he had taken it, partly out of the First, and Sixt Books that *Eusebius* had written, upon the same subject, and partly made use of his own invention in it. Some such like Fancy it was, that moved him also to put forth the Life of one *Sextus*, a

Hier. in Jerem. tom. 4. tom. 4. Pythagorean Philosopher, under the name of *S. Sixtus the Martyr*, to the end that the Work might be received the more favourably. What can you say to this? namely, that in the very same Age there was a personage of greater Note then the former; who, disliking, that *Hierome* had translated the Old Testament out of the Hebrew, framed an Epistle under his name, wherein he maketh him repent himself of having done it; which Epistle, even in *S. Hieromes* life time, though without his knowledge, was published by the said Author, both at *Rome*, and in *Africk*? Who could believe the truth of this bold attempt, had not *S. Hierome* himself related the story, and made complaint of the injury done him therein? I must impute also to a Fancy of the same kinde, though certainly more innocent then the other, the spreading abroad of so many Predictions of our Saviour Jesus

Hier. l. 2. Apol. contra Ruff. Tom. 2.

Jesus Christ, and His Kingdom, under the names of the *Sibylls*; which was done by some of the First Christians, onely to prepare the Pagans to relish this Doctrine the better; as it is objected against them by *Celsus*, in *Orig. contra gen.* But, that which is of greater consequence yet, is, *Cels. lib. 7.* that even the Fathers themselves have sometimes made use of this Artifice, to promote the Interest either of their own Opinions, or their Passions. We have a notable example hereof, which was objected against the *Latines* by the *Greeks*, above two hundred yeers since, of *Concil. Flor. Sess. 2. p. 457.* two Bishops of Rome, *Zozimus*, and *Boniface*; who to authorize the Title which they pretended to have, of being Universal Bishops, and Heads of the whole Christian Church, and particularly of the *African*, forged, about the beginning of the Fifth Century, certain Canons in the Council of *Nice*, and alleaged them for such *Concil. Afric. 6. cap. 3.* divers times, in the Councils in *Africa*; which notwithstanding after a long and diligent search, could never yet be found in any of the Authentick Copies of the said Council of *Nice*, although the *African* Bishops had taken the pains to send as far as *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, to get the best and truest Copies that they could. Neither indeed have the Canons and Acts of the Council of *Nice* at this day, though it hath since that time passed through so many several hands, any such thing in it; no not in the Editions of those very Men, who are the most interested in the honour of the Popes; as that of *Dionysius Exiguus*, who published his Latine Collection of them, about the yeer of our Saviour Christ 525. nor in any other, either Ancient or Modern. For as for that Authentick Copy of the Council of *Nice*, which one *Frier John*, at the Council of *Florence*, pretended to have been the onely Copy that had escaped *Concil. Flor. Sess. 20.* the corruptions of the *Arrians*, and had for this cause been alwayes kept under Lock and Key at Rome, with all the safety and care that might be; out of which Copy they had transcribed the said Canons: I confess, this Copy

py must needs have been kept up very close, under locks and Seals, seeing that three of their Popes, namely, *Zozimus*, *Boniface*, and *Celestine*, could never be able to produce it, for the justification of their pretended Title, against the *African* Fathers, though in a case of so great Importance. And it is a wonderful strange thing to me, that this Man who came a thousand years after, should now at last make use of it in this cause; whereas those very persons who had it in their custody, never so much as mentioned one syllable of it: which is an evident Argument, that the Seals of this Rare Book were never opened, save onely in the brains of this Doctor, where onely it was both framed and sealed up; brought forth, and vanished all at the same instant; the greatest part of those Men, that have come after him, having laid aside this Chimerical Invention, being ashamed to make use of it any longer. And to say truth, that which these Men answer, by way of excusing the said Popes, is not any whit more probable; namely, that they took the Council of *Nice*, and that of *Sardica*, in which those Canons they alleage are really found, for one and the same Council. For whom will these Men ever be able to perswade, that two Ecclesiastical Assemblies, betwixt which there passed near twenty two whole years, called by two severall Emperours, and for matters of a far different nature; the one of them for the Explanation of the Christian Faith: and the other for the re-establishing of two Bishops in their Thrones; and in places very far distant from each other, the one at *Nicea* in *Bithynia*, the other at *Sardica*, a City of *Illyricum*; the Canons of which two Councils are very different, both in substance, number, and authority; the one of them having alwayes been received generally by the whole Church; but the other having never been acknowledged by the Eastern Church; should yet notwithstanding be but one and the same Council? How can they themselves endure this, who are so fierce against the Greeks, for having offered

offered to attribute (which they do notwithstanding with more appearance of truth) to the Sixth Council, those CII Canons, which were agreed upon ten yeers after at *Constantinople*, in an Assembly wherein one party of the Fathers of the Sixth Council met? How came it to pass, that they gave any credit to the Ancient Church, seeing that in the Greek Collection of Her Ancient Canons, those of the Council of *Sardica* are quite left out; and in the Latine Collection of *Dionysius Exiguus*, made at Rome eleven hundred yeers since, they are placed, not with those of the Council of *Nice*, nor yet immediately after them, as if they all made up but one Body betwixt them; but are put in a place a great way behinde, after the Canons of all the General Councils, that had been held till that very time he lived in? And how comes it to pass, that these Ancient Popes, who alleaged these Canons, if they believed these Councils to be both one, did not say so. The *African* Bishops had diverse and sundry times declared, that these Canons, which were by them alleaged, were not at all to be found in Their Copies. Certainly therefore, if those who had cited them, had thought the Council of *Nice*, and that of *Sardica* to have been both but one Council, they would no doubt have made answer, that these Canons were to be found in this pretended Second Part of the Council of *Nice*, among those which had been agreed upon at *Sardica*: especially when they saw, that these careful Fathers, for the clearing of the controversie betwixt them, had resolved to send to this purpose as far as *Constantinople*, and *Alexandria*. And yet for all this, there is not the least syllable, tending this way, said by them. And certainly if the Canons of the Council of *Sardica* had been in those dayes reputed as a part of the Council of *Nice*, it is a very strange thing, that so many Learned and Religious Prelates as there were at that time in *Africk*, as namely *Aurelius*, *Alypius*, and even S. *Augustine*, that glorious Light, not of the *African* onely,

Codex Can. Ec.
Un. Dionys.
Exig. p. 99.

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but of the whole Ancient Church, should have been so ignorant in this particular. But it is a wonder beyond all belief, that three Popes, and their Legates, should leave their Party in an Ignorance so gross, and so Prejudicial to their own Interest; it being in their power to have relieved them in two words. We may safely then conclude, that these Popes, *Zozimus*, and *Boniface*, had no other Copies of the Council of *Nice*, then what we have: and also, that they did not believe, that the Canons of the Council of *Sardica* were a part of the Council of *Nice*; but that they rather purposely allaged some of the Canons of *Sardica*, under the name of the Canons of the Council of *Nice*. And this they did, according to that Maxim which was in force with those of former times, and is not utterly laid aside even in our own; namely, that for the advancing of a good, and godly Cause, it is lawful sometimes to use a little Deceit, & to have recourse to your *Pia Fraudes*. They therefore firmly believing as they did, that the supremacy of their See, over all other Churches, was a business of great importance, and would be very profitable to all Christendom; we are not to wonder, if for the establishing this right on themselves, they made use of a little Legerdemain, alleaging *Sardica* for *Nice*: reckoning with themselves, that if they brought their design about, this small Fayling of theirs would in process of time be abundantly satisfied for, by the benefit and excellency of the thing it self. Yet notwithstanding this Opposition made by the African Fathers against the Church of Rome, Pope *Leo*, not many yeers after, writing to the Emperour *Theodosius*, did not forbear to make use of the old Forgery, citing one of the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, for a Legitimate Canon of the Council of *Nice*: which was the cause, that the Emperour *Valentinian* also, and his Empress *Galla Placidia*, writing in the behalf of the said Pope *Leo* to the Emperour *Theodosius*, affirmed to him for a certain Truth, that both all Antiquity, and the canons

Leo in ep. ad Theodos. Imp. tom. 2. Concil.

Valentin. in ep. ad Theodos. tom. 2. Concil. Galla Placid. in ep. ad Theodos. Tom. 2.

nons of the Council of *Nice* also, had assigned to the Pope of Rome, the Power of judging of Points of Faith, and of the Prelates of the Church; *Leo*, having before possessed them, that this canon of the Council of *sardica* was one of the Canons of *Nice*. And thus, by a strong perseverance in this *Pious Fraud*, they have at length so fully perswaded a great part of Christendom, that the Council of *Nice* had established this supremacy upon the Pope of Rome, that it is now generally urged by all of them, when ever this Point is controverted, I must crave pardon of the Reader, for having so long insisted on this particular; and perhaps longer somewhat, then my Design required: yet, in my judgment, it may be of no small importance to the business in hand. For (will the Protestants here say,) seeing that two Popes, Bishops, and Princes, which all Christians have approved, have notwithstanding thus foisted in false Wares; what ought we to expect from the rest of the Bishops and Doctors? since These men have done this, in the beginning of the Fifth Century, an Age of so high repute for its Faith and Doctrine; what have they not dared to do, in the succeeding Ages? If they have not forbore so foully to abuse the sacred Name of the Council of *Nice*, the most Illustrious and Venerable Monument of Christianity, next to the Holy Scriptures; what other Authors can we imagine they would spare? And if in the face of so Renowned an Assembly; and in the presence of whatever *Africk* could shew of eminency, both for Sanctity, and Learning; and even under the eye of the great *S. Augustine* too, they made no conscience at all to make use of so gross a Piece of Forgery; what have they not since, in these Later Times, while the whole World for many Ages lay cover'd with so thick darkness, dared to do? But as for my part I shall neither accuse, nor excuse at present these Mens Proceedings, but shall onely conclude; That seeing that the Writings of the Fathers, before they came to us, have passed through the hands of those, who have some-

*Concil. 5. Act. 5.
Tom. 2. Concil.*

*Concil. 7. Act. 4.
Tom. 3. Concil.*

*Nanni^o in edit.
op. Athan.
Bellar. de imag.
l. 2. c. 10. et lib.
de script. Ec-
clesiæ in Athan.
Possevin. in ap-
par. in Athan.*

*D. 96. C. Con-
stantino nostro.
14.
Augusti. Steu-
chius de Dona.
Constant.
Baron. in annal.
Melchior Ca-
nus locor. Theo-
log. l. 11. p. 511.*

times been found to use these juggling Tricks ; it is not so easie a matter , as people may imagine , to discover out of those Writings which now pass under the names of the Fathers , what their Opinions were. The like Inclinations produced the very same Effects in the Fifth Council ; where a Letter Forged under the name of *Theodoret* , touching the death of *s. Cyril* , was both read , and by a general silence approved by the whole Assembly ; which yet notwithstanding was so evidently false , that those very Men , who caused the Body of the General Councils to be printed at Rome , have convinced it of falshood , and branded it as spurious. Such another precious Piece is that foolish story of a Miracle , wrought by an Image of our Saviour Christ in the city *Berytus* , which is related in very ample manner , in the VII Council , and goes forsooth , under the name of *s. Athanasius* ; but is indeed so tasteless a Piece , and so unworthy the Gallantry and clearness of that great Wit , that he must not be thought to have common sense , that can finde in his heart to attribute it to Him. And therefore we see , that notwithstanding the Authority of this Council , both *Nannius* , *Bellarmino* , and *Possesine* , have plainly confessed , that it was not written by *Athanasius* . I shall place in this Rank , the so much cried up Deed of the *Donation of Constantine* , which hath for so long a time been accounted as a most Valid , and most Authentick Evidence , and hath also been inserted into the Decretals , and so stily maintained by the Bishop of *Agobio* , against the Oppositions of *Laurentius Valla* . Certainly those very Men , who at this day maintain the *Donation* , do notwithstanding disclaim this *Evidence* , as a Piece of Forgery. Of the same nature are the Epistles , attributed to the First Popes , as *Clemens* , *Anacletus* , *Evaristus* , *Alexander* , *Sixtus* , *Teliphorus* , *Hyginus* , *Pius* , *Anicetus* , and others , down to the times of *Siricius* ; that is to say , to the year of our Saviour Christ *CCCLXXXV* . which the World read , under these Venerable Titles , at the least for eight hundred

dred yeers together; and by which have been decided, to the advantage of the Church of Rome, very many Controversies, and especially the most important of all the rest; namely, that of the Popes Monarchy; which sheweth plain enough the Inclination, (shall I call it!) or rather the purposed Designe of the Merchant that first vented them abroad. The greatest part of these notwithstanding are accounted Forged, even by many of the Learned of their own Party; as namely *Henricus Kaltheisen*, *Nicolas Cusanus*, *Jo. de Turrecremata*, both Cardinals, *Erasmus*, *Jo. Driedo*, *Claudius Espensaus*, *Cassander*, *Simon Vigor*, *Baronius*, and others: as indeed their Forgery appears plain enough, by the barbarousness of their stile, the Errors that you meet with every foot in computing the Times, and in History; the Pieces that they are patched up of, stolen here and there out of several Authors, whose Books we have at this day to shew: and also by the general silence of all the Writers of the Eight first Centuries, among whom there is not one word mentioned of them. Now I shall not here meddle at all with the Six or Seven last centuries; where, in regard of diverse Articles of Faith, most eagerly by them pressed, and established, there hath been more need then ever of the assistance of the Ancients; and where in respect of the dark Ignorance of those Times, and the scarcity of Opposers, they had much better Opportunity, then before, to Forge what Books they pleased. This abuse the World was never free from, till the Times of the Light breaking forth in the Last Century; at what time *Erasmus* by name, gives us an account, how he himself had discovered one of these wretched Knaves; whose ordinary practise it was, to lay his own Eggs in another Mans Nest, putting his own fooleries on *S. Hierome* particularly, and on *S. Augustine*, and *S. Ambrose*. And who knows, what those many Books be, that are daily issued out of the self-same Shops, that of old were wont to furnish the World with these kind of Knacks? Is it not very probable, that

Hen. Kaltheis.
ap. Magdeb.
cent. 2.

Nic. Cusan.
Conc. Cath. l. 2.

c. 34.
Jo. de Turrecr.
de Eccl. lib. 2.
c. 101.

Jo. Driedo de
dogm. & scrip.
Eccl. l. 1. c. 2.
Cl. Espens. de
Contin. l. 1. c. 2.
G. Cassand. de
fens. lib. de of-
ficio pii viri, p.
843.

Sim. Vig. ex
respons. Syn.
Basil. &c. en
la lettre contr.
Durand.

Baron. Annal.
T. 2. an. 102. &
an. 865.
Eras. prefat.
in Hieron.

both the Will, and the Dexterity in forging, and venting these false Wares, will rather in these dayes increase, then abate, in the Professors of this Trade? So that, if besides what the Malice of the Hereticks, the Avarice and Ignorance of Transcribers of Manuscripts, and the ambition and affection of Men hath brought forth of this kinde, there have yet so many others bent their endeavours this way, and that in a manner all along, for the space of the last Fourteen hundred yeers, although they had their several ends; we are not to wonder at all, if now in this Last Age we see such a Monstrous Number of Writings falsely fathered upon the Ancients; which, if they were all put together, would make little less then a Fourth, or a Fifth part of the Works of the Fathers. I am not ignorant, that the Learned have noted a great number of them, and do ordinarily cast them into the later Tomes of Editions; and that some have written whole Books upon this very Subject; as namely, *Ant. Possevine's Apparatus*, *Bellarmino's Catalogue*, *Sculdetus his Medulla Patrum*, *Rivet's Critick*, and the like, both of the one and the other Religion. But who can assure us, that they have not forgotten any thing they should have noted? Besides, that it is a new labour, and almost equal to the former, to read so many Books of the Moderns as there are. And when all is done, we are not presently to sit down upon their judgements neither, without a due examination had of them. For each of them having been prepossest with the Prejudices of the Party, in which they were brought up, before they took this work in hand; who shall warrant us, that they have not delivered any thing, in this case, in favour of their own particular Interest; as hath been touched before? The justness of this suspicion is so cleer, that I presume that no Man, that is but any whit versed in these matters will desire me to prove my Assertion. Neither shall I need to give any other reason of it, then the Conflicts, and disagreement in Judgements which we may observe in these Men; the one of them often-

oftentimes letting pass for pure Metal, what the other perhaps will throw by for Dross : which differences are found, not onely betwixt those that are of quite opposite Religions ; but, which is more, even betwixt those that are of the self same persuasion. Those whom we named not long before, who were all of the Roman Church, cry down (as we have said,) the greatest part of the Decretals of the First Popes. *Franciscus Turrianus*, a Jesuite, receives them, and defends them all, in a Tract written by him to that purpose. *Baronius* calls the *Recognitions*, which are attributed to *Clemens Romanus*, *A Gulf of filth and uncleanness* ; full of prodigious Lies, and Frantick Fooleries. *Bellarmino* says, that this Book was written, either by *Clemens*, or else by some other Author, as Learned, and as Ancient as he. Some of them hold those *Fragments*, published by *Nicol. Faber*, under the name of *S. Hilary*, for good and Legitimate Pieces ; and some others again reject them. *Erasmus*, *Sixtus Senensis*, *Melchior Canus*, and *Baronius*, are of opinion, that the Book *Of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary*, is falsely attributed to *S. Hierome* : *Christophorus à Castro*, a Spanish Jesuite, maintains the contrary. Cardinal *Cajetan*, *Laurentius Valla*, *Erasmus*, and some others, hold the Books of *Dionysius the Areopagite* for suspected, and spurious ; *Baronius*, and almost all the rest of their Writers, maintain that they are True, and Legitimate. *Turrianus*, *Bovin*, and some others, commend unto us the *Constitutions of the Apostles*, for a Legitimate Piece : but *Baronius*, *Possevine*, *Petavius*, and a great many others speak doubtfully of them. And a Man shall finde in the Writings of those of the Church of Rome, infinite variety of divided judgements, in such cases as these. He that hath a minde to furnish himself with Examples of this nature, may have recourse to their Books, and particularly to the Writings of the late Cardinal *Perron*, who differs as much from the rest, in this Point of Criticism, as he doth for the most part in the method he observes in his Disputations.

Baron. Annal. Tom. 1. an. 51.

Bellar. de lib. arbit. l. 5. c. 25.

Nos fatemur librum esse corruptum, &c.

Sed tamen vel esse Clementis Romani, vel alterius aequè docti, ac antiqui.

tations. Now I would willingly be informed, what a Man should do, amidst these diversities of Judgement: and what path he should take, where he meeteth with so disagreeing guides. But yet suppose that these Authors have done their utmost endeavour in this Designe, without any particular affection, or Partiality; how notwithstanding shall we be satisfied concerning their sufficiency for the performance of their undertaking? Is it a light business, think you, to bring the whole stock of Antiquity to the Cruzet, and there to purifie and refine it, and to separate all the Dross from it, which hath so deeply, and for the space of so many Ages been not only as it were tyed, and fastned on to it, but even thoroughly mixed, united, and incorporated with it? This work requireth the most clear, and refined judgement that can be imagined; an exquisite Wit, a quick piercing Eye, a perfect Ear, a most exact knowledge in all History, both Ancient and Modern, both Ecclesiastical and Secular; a perfect knowledge of the Ancient Tongues; and a long and continued Conversation with all sorts of Writers, both Ancient, of the middle Ages, and Modern; to be able to judge of their Inclinations, and which way their Pulse beat: to understand rightly the manner of their Expression, Invention, and Method in Writing: each Age, each Nation, and each Author, having their own peculiar wayes in all these. Now such a Man as this, is hardly produced in a whole Age. As for those Men, who in our times have taken upon them this part of Criticism, who knows not, who sees not, that but reads them, how many of these forenamed Qualities are wanting in them? but yet suppose that such a Man were to be found, and that he should take in hand this Discovery; I do verily believe that he would be able very easily to finde out the Imposture of a bungling Fool, that had ill counterfeited the Stamp, Colour, and Weight, in the Piece which he would father upon some other Man: or that should, for example, endeavour to represent either *S. Hierome*, or *S. Chrysostome*,

S. Chryſoſtome, with a ſtammering tongue, and ſhould make them ſpeak barbarous Language, bad Latine, and bad Greek; or elſe perhaps ſhould make uſe of ſuch Terms, Things, or Authors, as were not known to the World, till a long time after theſe Men: or ſhould make them treat of matters far removed from the Age they lived in, and maintain Opinions which they never thought of; or reject thoſe, which they are notoriously known to have held: and of this ſort, for the moſt part, are thoſe Pieces which our Criticks have decried, and noted unto us as ſpurious. But if a Man ſhould chance to bring him a Piece of ſome able Maſter, that ſhould have fully, and exactly learnt both the Languages, Hiſtory, Manners, Alliances, and Quarrels of the Family he hath boldly thruſt himſelf into, and ſhould be able to make happy uſe of all theſe; aſſure your ſelf that our *Ariſtarchus* would be here as much puzzled to diſcover this Jugler, as they were once in France, to convince the Impoſtures of *Martin Guerre*. Now how can we imagine, but that among ſo many ſeveral perſons, that have for their ſeveral purpoſes, employed their utmoſt endeavours in theſe kindes of Forgeries, there muſt needs have been, in ſo many Centuries of years, very many able Men who have had the ſkill ſo artificially to imitate the Fancy, and ſtile of the Perſons whom they act, as that it is impoſſible to diſcover them? Eſpecially, if they made choice of ſuch a Name, as was the onely thing remaining in the World of that Author, ſo that there is no mark left us, either of his Stile, Diſcourſe, or Opinions, to guide us in our examination. And therefore in my judgement he was a very cunning Fellow, and made a right choice, that undertook to write, under the name of *Dionyſius the Areopagite*: for we having not left us any true Legitimate Piece of this Author, by which we may examine this cheat: the Diſcovery muſt needs be difficult; and it would have proved ſo much the more hard, if he had but uſed a more modeſt, and leſſe ſwelling manner of expreſſion: whereas for

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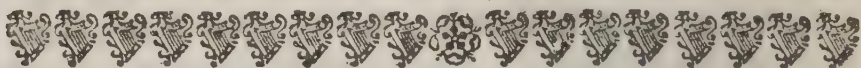
those others, who in the Ages following made bold with the names of *s. Hierome*, *s. Cyprian*, *S. Augustine*, and the like; of whose Legitimate writings, we have very many Pieces left us; a Man may know them at the first sight, meerly by the stile: those Gothick, and rude Spirits, being no more able to counterfeit the Graces, and Elegancies of these Great Authors, then an Ass is to imitate the warblings of the Nightingale. I confess, there is another help, which in my judgement, may stand us in more stead, in this particular, then all the rest; namely, the Light and Direction of the Ancients themselves: who oftentimes make mention of other writers of the Church, which lived either before, or in their own times: *S. Hierome* among the Latines, having taken the pains to make a Catalogue of all those, whose names and writings he knew of, down from the Apostles time to his own; which was afterward continued by *Gennadius*. To this we may also adde that incomparable Work of the Patriarch *Photius*, which he calls his *Bibliotheca*, and is now published in this our age: where this great person hath given us his judgement of most of the Authors of the Greek Church. Now this help we may make use of two manner of wayes; the one is in justifying a Book, if it be found mentioned by these Authors; the other is, in rejecting it, if they say nothing of it. As for the first of these, it concludes onely according to the Quality of the Authors who make mention of a suspected Book. For, some of the Fathers themselves have made use of these kinde of Forgeries, as we have formerly said: others have favoured them, because they served their turn; some have not been able to discover them; and some others have not been willing to do so, whatsoever their reason hath been. I shall not here repeat the names of any of those, that have done these things themselves: And as for those that have favoured them, there are good store of examples; as *Justin Martyr*, *Theophilus*, and others; who alleage the *Sybils verses*, as Oracles; which are notwithstanding

standing the greatest part of them forged. *Clemens Alex-* *Hier.ep.84.ad*
andrinus, the most Learned, and most Polite of all the *Magn.Tom.2.*
Fathers, in *S. Hieromes* judgement, how often doth he
make use of those Apocryphal Pieces, which go under
the names of the Apostles and Disciples, to whom they
were most falsely attributed; citing under the name of
† *Barnabas*, and of * *Hermes*, such writings as have been
forged under their names? And did not the VII Council † *Clem.Alex.*
in like manner make use of a supposititious Piece, attribu- *Strom.l.2.*
ted to *Athanasius*, as we have shewed before; and like- * *Id.Strom.*
wise of divers others, which are of the same stamp. *l.1.&l.2.*
That even the Fathers themselves therefore have not *et alibi passim.*
been able alwayes to make a true discovery of these false
Wares, no Man can doubt; considering that of those
many necessary Qualifications, which we reckoned up
before, as requisite in this particular, they may often-
times have failed in some. *S. Hierome* himself, the most
knowing Man among all the Latine Fathers, especially in
matters of this nature, sometimes lets them pass without
examination: as there, where he speakes of a certain
Tract against *Mathematitians*, attributed to *Minutius* *Hier.ep.84.ad*
Fœlix, If at least (saith he) the Inscription represent unto *Magn.Tom.2.*
us the right Author of the Book. And in another place,
whatsoever his reason was, he delivers to us for Legiti-
mate Pieces, the Epistles that go about under the name *Id.in Catal.*
of *S. Paul* to *Seneca*, and of *Seneca* to *S. Paul*; which *Tom.1.*
notwithstanding Cardinal *Baronius* holds for suspected, *Baron. Annal.*
and spurious; as doubtless they are. But even those Men *Tom.1. an. 66.*
who have been able to discover these False Pieces, have
not sometimes been willing to do it; either being unwil-
ling to offend the Authors of them; or else not daring to
cast any disrepute upon those Books, which having ma-
ny good things in them, had not in their judgement any
false, or dangerous Positions in them. And this is the
reason why they made choice to let such things pass, ra-
ther then out of a little tendernefs of conscience to oppose
them: there being in their apprehension, no danger at all

in the one ; and much trouble, and envy in the other. And therefore I am of opinion, that S. *Hierome* for example, would never have taken the pains, nor have undergone the envy, in laying open the Forgeries of *Ruffinus*, if the misunderstanding that happened to be betwixt them, had not engaged him to it. Neither do I believe that the African Fathers would ever have troubled themselves, in convincing the false Allegation of *Zozimus*, but for their own Interest, which was thereby called in question. For wise and sober Men never use to fall at variance with any body, till they needs must ; neither do they quickly take notice of any injury, or abuse offered them, unless it be a very great one, and such as hath evident danger in it : which was not at all perceived, or taken notice of at first, in these Forgeries ; which nevertheless have at length by little and little in a manner born down all the good, and true Books. These Considerations, in my opinion, make it clearly appear, that the Title of a Book is not sufficiently justified, by a passage or two being cited out of it by some of the Ancients, and under the same name. As for the other way, which rendereth the authority of a Book doubtful, by the Ancients not having made any mention of it, I confess it is no more Demonstrative then the other : for as much as it is not impossible, that any one, or divers of the Fathers, may not have met with such a certain Writer that was then extant ; or else perhaps that they might omit some one of those very Authors, which they knew. Yet notwithstanding is this the much surer way of the two ; there being less danger in this case, in rejecting a True Piece, then in receiving a Forged one ; the want of the Truth of the one, being doubtless much less prejudicial, then the receiving the opposite Falseness of the other. For as it is a less sin, to omit the Good, then to commit the Evil that is opposite to it ; in like manner is it a less Errour, not to believe a Truth, then to believe the Falseness, which is contrary to it. And thus we see, what confusion there is in the Books of the Ancients,

Ancients, and what defect in the Means which is requisite for the distinguishing the False from the True : in so much that, as it often fals out , it is much easier to judge, what we ought to reject , then to resolve upon what we may safely receive. Let the Reader therefore now judge, whether or no, these Writings having come down along through so many Ages , and passed through so many hands , which are either known to have been notoriously guilty , or at least strongly suspected of Forgery, the Truth in the mean time having made on its part but very weak resistance against these Impostures ; it be not a very hard matter to discover amidst the infinite number of Books that are now extant, and go under the names of the Fathers, which are those that truly belong to them ; and which again are those that are falsely imposed upon them. And if it be so hard a matter , to discover in gross onely, which are the Writings of the Fathers ; how much more difficult a business will it be to finde out what their Opinions are, touching the severall controversies now in agitation. For we are not to imagine, that it is no great matter, from which of the Fathers such an Opinion hath sprung, so that it came from any one of them : for there is altogether as much difference amongst these ancient Doctors, both in respect of Authority, Learning, and Goodnesse, as among the Modern. Besides, that an Ages being higher or lower , either raiseth or lesseneth the repute of these Writings , in the esteem both of the one Party , and of the other , as it were , so many grains, as years : and certainly not altogether without good reason ; it being most evident to any one, that hath been but the least versed in the reading of these Books, that Time hath by degrees introduced very great alterations , as well in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Ancients, as in all other things. Our Conclusion therefore shall be , that whosoever shall desire to know what the Sense and Judgement of the Primitive Church

hath been, touching our present Controversies; it will be first in a manner as necessary for him, as it is difficult, exactly to finde out both the Name and the Age of each of these several Authors.



CHAP. IV.

Reason IV. That those of the Writings of the Fathers which are Legitimate, have been in many places corrupted, by Time, Ignorance, and Fraud, both Pious, and Malitious, both in the former and later Ages.

BUt, put the case now here, that you had by your long, and judicious endeavours, severed the True and Genuine Writings of the Fathers, from the spurious and forged: there would yet lye upon you a second Task, whose event is like to prove much more doubtful, and fuller of difficulty then the former. For it would concern you in the next place, in reading over those Authors which you acknowledge for Legitimate, to distinguish what is the Authors own, and what hath been foisted in by another hand; and also to restore to your Author, whatsoever either by Time, or Fraud hath been taken away; and to take out of him whatsoever hath been added by either of these two. Otherwise you will never be able to assure your self, that you have discovered out of these Books, what the true and proper meaning, and sense of your Author hath been: considering the great alterations, that by several wayes they may have suffered, in several times. I shall not here speak of those Errours, which have been produced by the ignorance of the Transcribers; *who write (as Hierome hath complained of them) not what they finde, but what themselves understand.*

*Hier. ep. 28. ad
Lucin. Tom. 1.*

stand: Nor yet of those faults, which necessarily have grown up out of the very Transcribing; it being an impossible thing, that Books which have been copied out an infinite number of times, during the space of ten, or twelve Centuries of years, by Men of so different capacities, and hands, should all this while retain exactly, and in every particular, the self same juyce, the same form and body, that they had when they first came forth from the Authors own hand. Neither shall I here say any thing of the sufferings of these Books, by Moths, and a thousand other injuries of Time, by which they have been corrupted; while all kinde of Learning for so many Ages together, lay buried, as it were, in the Grave; the Worms on one side feeding on the Books of the Learned, and on the other, the Dust defacing them; so that it is impossible now, to restore them to their first integrity. And this is the sad Fate, that all sorts of Books have layen under; whence hath sprung up so great variety of readings, as are found almost in all Authors. I shall not here make any advantage of this; though there are some Doctors in the World, that have shewed us the way to do it; taking advantage from this consideration, to lessen the authority that the holy Scriptures of themselves ought to have in the esteem of all Men; under this colour, that even in these Sacred Writings there are sometimes found varieties of Reading, which yet are of very little, or no Importance, as to the Ground-work. If we would tread in these Mens steps, and apply to the Writings of the Fathers, what they speak, and conclude of the Scriptures; we could do it upon much better terms then they; there being no reason in the earth to imagine, but that the Books of the ancient Writers have suffered very much more, then the Scriptures have; which have alwayes been preserved in the Church with much greater care then any other Books have been whatsoever, and which have been learnt by all Nations, and translated into all Languages; which all Sects have retained, both *Orthodox*, and *Heretics*;

ticks; *Catholicks*, and *Schismaticks*; *Greeks*, and *Latins*; *Moscovites*, and *Ethiopians*; observing diligently the eye, and the hand, one of the other; so that there could not possibly happen any Remarkable alteration in them, but that presently the whole World, as it were, would have exclaimed against it, and have made their complaints to have resounded throughout the Universe. Whereas, on the contrary, the Writings of the Fathers have been kept, transcribed, and read, in as carelesse a manner as could be; and that too but by very few, and in few places, being but rarely understood by any, save those of the same Language; which is the cause that so many faults have both the more easily crept into them, and likewise are the more hard to be discovered. Besides that, the particular stile and obscurity of some of them, renders the errours the more important. As for example, take me a *Tertullian*, and you shall finde, that one little word added or taken away, or altered never so little, or a Full-point or Comma but out of its place, will so confound the sense, that you will not be able to finde what he would have: whereas in Books of an easie, smooth, clear stile; as the Scriptures for the most part are, these faults are much lesse prejudiciall, seeing they cannot in any wise so darken the sense, but that it will be stil easie enough to apprehend it. But I shal passe by all these minute punctilioes, as more suitable to the enquiries of the *Pyrrhonians* and *Academicks*, whose businessse it is to question all things; then of Christians who onely seek, in simplicity and sincerity of heart, whereon to build their faith. I shall onely here take notice of such alterations as have been knowingly & voluntarily made in the writings of the Fathers, purposely by our holding our peace, to disguise their sense, or else to make them speak more then they meant: And this forgery is of two sorts; the one hath been made use of with a good intention, the other out of malice: Again, the one hath been committed in times long since past, the other in this last Age, in our
own

own dayes, and the dayes of our Fathers. Lastly, the one is in the additions made to Authors, to make them speak more then they meant : the other in subtracting from the Author, to eclipse and darken what he would be understood to say. Neither ought we to wonder, that even those of the honest, innocent primitive Times also made use of these deceits ; seeing that, for a good end, they made no great scruple to forge whole Books, taking a much stranger and bolder course, in my opinion, then the other. For without all doubt it is a greater Crime to coin false money ; then to clip, or a little alter the True: This opinion hath alwayes been in the World, that to settle a certain and assured estimation upon that which is Good, and True, (that is to say, upon what we account to be such) it is necessary that we remove out of the way, whatsoever may be a hinderance to it ; and that there can be no great danger either in putting in, or at least in leaving any thing in, that may yeeld assistance to it ; whatsoever the issue of either of these may in the end prove to be. And hence hath it come to pass, that we have so many ancient Forgeries ; and also so many strange stories of Miracles, and of Visions ; many taking a delight in faining (as *S. Hierome* sayes) *Great combats which they have had with Devils in Desarts* : all which things are meerly fabulous in themselves, and acknowledged too to be so, by the most intelligent of them ; yet notwithstanding are tolerated, and sometimes also recommended to them ; for as much as they account them useful, for the settling, or encreasing either of the Faith, or Devotion of the people. What will you say if at this day there are some, even of those Men who make profession of being the greatest haters in the World of these subtilties, who cannot nevertheless put forth any Book, but they must needs be lopping off, or falsifying whatsoever doth not wholly agree with the Doctrine they hold for true ; fearing, as themselves say, lest such things, coming to the eye of the simple common people, might infect them, and possess their

F heads

*Hier. ep. 4. ad
Rustic. Tom. I.
Dæmonū contra se pugnantium portenta consingunt.*

heads with new fancies? So firmly hath this opinion been of old rooted in the nature of Man. Now I will not here dispute, whether this proceeding of theirs be lawful, or not: I shall onely say by the way, that in my judgement it is a very great shame for the Truth, to be established, or defended by such Falsifications, and shifts: as if it had not sufficient weapons, both defensive and offensive, of its own, but that it must be faine to borrow of its Adversary: and it is besides a very dangerous course too: because that the discovery of any one Cheat, oftentimes renders their Cause, who practised it, wholly suspected: in so much that, by making use of such flights as these in Christian Religion, either for the gaining to you, or confirming the faith of some of the simpler people, it is to be feared, that you may give distaste to the more understanding sort; and so by this means at length may chance to lose the affections of the simpler sort too. But whatsoever this course of Cheating be, either in it self, or in its consequences; it is sufficient for my purpose, that it hath been a long time practised in the Church, in matters of Religion: for proof whereof, I shall here produce some Instances. The Hereticks have alwayes been accused of using this Artifice: but I shall not here set down, what Alterations have been made by the Ancientest of them, even in the Scriptures themselves. If you would have a Taste of this practise of theirs, go but to *Tertullian* & *Epiphanius*, and you shall there see, how *Marcion* had clipped & altered the Gospel of *S. Luke*, & those Epistles of *S. Paul*, which he allowed to be such. Neither have those other of the Ages following been any whit more consciencious in this particular; as may appear by those Complaints made by *Ruffinus**, in his Exposition upon the Apostles Creed: and in another Treatise written by him purposely on this Subject; which is indeed contradicted by † *S. Hierome*, but onely in his *Hypothesis*, as to what concerned *Origen*; but not absolutely in his *Thesis*; and by

* *Ruff. in Ex-
pos. Symbol. &
lit. de adult.
script. Origen.
† Hier. ep. 65.
Torn. 2. et Apol.
2. contr. Ruff.*

by the like Complaints of * s. Cyril, and divers others of the Ancients : and among the Moderns , by those very persons also, who have put forth the General Councils at *Rome* : who inform us in the Preface to the first Volume, † That *Time*, and the Fraud of the *Hereticks*, have been the cause, that the Acts of the said Councils have not come to our hands, neither entire, nor pure and sincere , that which hath remained of them : and before, they grievously bewail, that we should be thus deprived, of so great and so precious a Treasure. Now this Testimony of theirs, to me, is worth a Thousand others ; seeing it comes from such , who in my opinion are evidently interested to speak quite otherwise. For if the Church of *Rome*, who is the pretended Mistress, and Trustee of the Faith, hath suffered any part of the Councils to perish, and be lost, which is esteemed by them as the *Code* of the Church ; what then may the rest have suffered also ? And what may not the *Hereticks*, and *Schismatics* have been able to do ? And if all these Evidences have been altered by their Fraud, how shall we be able by them to come to the knowledge of the sense and judgement of the Ancients. I confess I am very much amazed , to see these Men make so much reckoning of the Acts of the Councils ; and to make such grievous complaints against the *Hereticks*, for having suppressed some of them. For if these things are of such use, why then do they themselves keep from us the Acts of the Council of *Trent* ; which is the most Considerable Council, both for them, and their Party , that hath been held in the Christian Church these eight hundred years ? If it be a crime in the *Hereticks* , to have kept from us these precious Jewels ; why are not they afraid, lest the blame, which they lay on others, may chance to return upon themselves ? But doubtless there is something in the business, that renders these cases different : and I confess I wonder they publish it not ; the simpler sort, for want of being otherwise informed , thinking perhaps, (though, it may be, without

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cause,)

* Cyril. ep. ad
Ich. Antioch. in
Act. Conc. Eph.

† In Prefat. in
Tom. I. Concil.
Gen.

cause,) that the reason, why the Acts of this last Council are kept so close from them, is, because they know that the publishing of them, would be either prejudicial, or at least unprofitable, to the greatness of the Church of Rome: and they also again on the other side conceive, that in those other Acts, which they say have been suppressed by the Hereticks, there were wonderful matters to be found; for the greater advancing and supporting of the Church of Rome. Whatsoever the reason be, I cannot but commend the Ingenuity of these Men; who, notwithstanding their Interest, which seemeth to engage them to the contrary, have yet nevertheless confessed, that the Councils, which we have at this day, are neither entire, nor uncorrupted. But let us now examine, whether or no even the Orthodox party themselves have not also contributed something to this Alteration of the writings of the Primitive Church. *Epiphanius* reports, that in the true and most correct Copies of *S. Luke*, it was written, that *Jesus Christ wept*; and that this passage had been alleaged by *S. Irenaeus*: but that the Catholicks had blotted out this word, fearing that the Hereticks might abuse it. Whether this relation be true, or false, I must relye upon the credit of the Author: But this I shall say, that it seems to me a clear Argument, that these Ancient Catholicks would have made no great scruple of blotting out of the Writings of the Fathers, any word, that they found to contradict their own opinions, and judgement: and that with the same liberty, that they inform us the Hereticks used. For seeing that, as this Father informs us, they made no Conscience of making such an attempt upon the Gospel of the Son of God himself; with how much greater confidence would they adventure to geld the Books of Men? Certainly *Ruffinus*, a Man so much applauded by * *S. Hierome*, before their falling out; and so highly esteemed by † *S. Augustine*, who very much bewails the Breach, betwixt those two; and whom * *Gennadius* hath placed, with a very high Elogy of his worth,

Epiphanius in
Anchor. Or-
δόδοξοι δὲ ἀ-
φείλοντο τὸ
ῥητὸν, φοβή-
θέντες, καὶ μὴ
νοήσαντες
αὐτὸ τὸ τέ-
λῳ, καὶ τὸ
ἰσχυρότατον.

* *Hier. ep. 5. ad*
Flor. & ep. 41.
ad Ruffin.
† *Aug ep. ad*
Hier. qua est
inter ep. Hier.
93. & iterum
ep. 97.
* *Gennald. in*
Catal. inter. op.
Hier.

worth, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers; hath so filthily mangled, and so licentiously confounded the Writings of *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and others, which he hath translated into Latine; that you will hardly finde a Page, in his Translations, where he hath not either cut off, or added, or at least altered something. *S. Hierome* also, although his enemy, yet agrees with him in this point; † confessing in several places, that he had indeed translated *Origen*, but in such sort, as that he had taken liberty to cut away that which was dangerous, and had left onely that which was useful, and had interpreted only what was Good, and had left out the Bad: that is to say, that if he found any thing there, that was not so consonant to the common judgement and opinions of His Time, and so might possibly give offence to the simple people, he suppressed it in his Translation: affirming also that *S. Hilary*, and *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Vercell* had done the like. And again, in his Preface to *Eusebius* his Book, *De locis Hebraicis*; he confesseth that he had left out that, which he conceived was not worth remembring: and that he had altered the greatest part of it. And to make it appear, that this hath been his constant practise, we need but compare his Latine Chronology, with the Greek Fragments which remain of *Eusebius*: where you may plainly see, what liberty these Ancients allowed themselves, in the Writings of others. And what doubt is there to be made, but that those Men that came after them, following the Authority of so great an Example, carefully either took out of their Copies, or else left out of their Translations, the greatest part of what ever they found to be dissonant to the Opinions, and Customes, which were received in the Church in the times they lived in? and likewise, that for adding the greater Authority to them, some have had the boldness, to adde in some places, what they conceived to be wanting? From whence else could it proceed, that we should have so many unseasonable breakings off in many places, and so many impertinent

Additions

† *Hier. ep. 62.*
ad Theoph. Alex. & lib. 2.
Apol. contra Ruffin.

Hier. ep. 75.
Id. præfat. in lib. Euseb. de loc. Hebr.

To.4.op. Ambr.
p.211.lib.2. de
Abra. in marg.
annot.

† Lud. Vives
in lib. 21. de
Civ. Dei, c.24.
In antiquis li-
bris Brug. &
Colon. non le-
guntur isti de-
cem aut duode-
cim qui sequun-
tur versus.

* Holstein. op.
lim. praf. tom.
op. Athan. Ne-
que solius A-
thanasii ea for-
tuna, ut ineptis-
simorum inter-
polatorum ma-
nus subiret,
cū Chrysosto-
mi, Procli, ali-
orumq; homi-
lias similibus
sequiorum sæ-
culorū ineptis-
fædatis, in iis-
dem regiis co-
dicibus invene-
rim.

Additions in others, as there are to be met with frequently, in the Ancient Authors? Whence otherwise should we have those many course Patches, that are ready to grate the skin off our fingers, in the midst of their soft Satin, and Velvet? and that inequality of Pulse, and Breath, that we may observe in one and the same Author, in a quarter of an hours reading? It would prove a troublesome business, to bring in here all the examples of this kinde that we might; there being scarcely any of the Moderns, that have taken any pains in Writing upon the Fathers, but have noted, and complained of this abuse: and hence it is, that we oftentimes meet with such like Notes as this, in the Margines of the Fathers: *Hic videtur aliquis assuisse nugas suas*, and the like: And that which is observed also by *Vives*, upon the XXI Book of *S. Augustine De Civitate Dei*; † namely, that Ten, or Twelve lines, which we finde at this day in the XXIV Chapter of that Book, which contain a Positive Assertion of Purgatory, were not to be found in the ancient Manuscripts of *Bruges*, and of *Collen*; no nor yet in that of *Paris*, as is noted by those that printed *S. Augustine*, Anno 1531. One * *Holsteinius* also, a Dutchman testifieth, that he had met with divers Pieces, among the Manuscripts of the Kings Library, of *Chrysostome*, *Proclus*, and others, that had in like manner been scratched in divers places by the like hands, by some Interpolators of the later, and worst Ages. But I may not here forget to note, that this Alteration hath taken place, even in the most sacred, and publick Pieces also; as namely, in the Liturgies of the Church, and the like: and I shall give you this Observation, to the end it may carry with it the greater gracefulness, and weight, in the expressions of *Andreas Masius*, a Man of singular and profound Learning; yet of such Candor, and Integrity, as renders him more admired, then his knowledge doth; and which, together with his other excellencies, endears him to all moderate Men of both Professions. This Learned Person, taking

taking notice, that the Liturgy of *S. Basil* was not so long in the Syriac, as in the Greek, gives this reason of it : For (saith He,) Men have alwayes been of such a humour, and disposition, in matters of Religion, as that you shall scarcely finde any, that have been able to content themselves with the Ceremonies prescribed unto them by their Fathers, how holy soever they have been in themselves : so that we may observe, that in tract of time, according as the Prelates have thought fittest to move the affections of the people to Piety and Devotion, many other things have been either added, or altered, and (which is much worse,) many superstitious things have been introduced also : in which particular, I conceive the Christians of Syria to have been more moderate, and lesse extravagant then the Greeks, and Latines, as having not the opportunity of enjoying that quiet, and plentiful state of life, which the others had. Thus the Learned *Masius*. And *Cassander*, who hath also turned over the Writings of the Ancients with innocent hands, confesseth, and proveth out of other Authors, that the ancient Liturgies have by little and little been enlarged, by the several Additions of the Moderns. Thus proportionably as the World it self hath changed, so would it have, what ever there remained of Antiquity, to suffer its alterations also : imagining that it was but reasonable, that these Books should in some measure accommodate their Language to the Times ; for as much as the Authors of them, in all probability, would have done so themselves, believing, and speaking with the Times, had they been now living. Now to render them the more acceptable, they have used those arts upon them, that some old Men are wont to practise ; they have new coloured their Beard, and Mustachoes, cutting off the rude and scattered hairs : they have polished their skin, and given it a fresh complexion, and taught them to speak with a new voice, having changed also the colour of their habit : insomuch, that it is much to be feared, that we oftentimes do but lose our labour, when we search in these disguised Faces, and

*Andr. Masius
Praf. in Litur.
Syr.*

*Cassand. in Li-
turg. cap. 2.*

Euseb. in Chro.
edit. num. 2148.
¶ 2158. vide
Scalig. in loc.
p. 198. a. ¶
201. a.
 See also Card.
Perrons Reply
to K. James,
Observ. 2. c. 8.

Concil. Chal-
ced. Act. 16.
Tom. 2. Concil.

and mouths, for the Complexion and Language of true Antiquity. Thus have they taught *Eusebius* to tell us, in his *Chronicon*, that the Fast of *Lent* was instituted by *Teslephorus*; and the Observation of the *Lords Day* by *Pius*, both Bishops of Rome; which is a thing *Eusebius* never so much as dreamt of; as may appear out of some Manuscripts of him; where you shall finde him wholly mute, as to these points, wherewith the Moderns so much please themselves. But to return, and to take the times all along as they lye, we may observe that this Licence grew stronger daily, as the Times grew worse; because that, the greater the distance of Time was, from the Authors own Age, the more difficult the discovery of these Forgeries must necessarily be: the example also of some of the most eminent persons among the Ancients, who had sometimes made use of these flights, adding on the other side boldness to every one, and courage to venture upon what they had done before them. For I pray you, is it not a strange thing, that the Legats of Pope *Leo* in the year 451. in the midst of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where were assembled six hundred Bishops, the very Flower, and choice of the whole Clergy, should have the confidence to alleage the VI Canon of the Council of *Nice*, in these very words, *That the Church of Rome hath alwayes had the Primacy*: words, which are no more found in any Greek Copies of the Councils, then are those other Pretended Canons of Pope *Zozimus*: neither do they yet appear, in any Greek, or Latine Copies, nor so much as in the Edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*, who lived about fifty years after this Council. When I consider that the Legats of so holy a Pope would at that time have fastned such a Wen upon the body of so venerable a Canon; I am almost ready to think, that we scarcely have any thing of Antiquity left us, that is entire, and uncorrupt, except it be in matters of indifferency, or which could not have been corrupted, without much noise; and to take this proceeding of theirs, which is come to our knowledge,

as an advertisement purposely given us by Divine Providence, to let us see, with how much consideration, and advisedness we ought to receive for the Council of *Nice*, and of *Constantinople*, and for *Cyprian*, and *Hierome's* writings, that which goes at this day for such. About seventy four years after the Council of *Chalcedon*, *Dionysius Exiguus*, whom we before mentioned, made his Collection at Rome, which is since printed at *Paris*, *Cum Privilegio Regis*, out of very ancient Manuscripts. Who-soever shall but look diligently into this Collection, shall finde divers alterations in it, one whereof I shall instance in; onely to shew, how ancient this Artifice hath been among Christians. The last Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which is the 163 of the Greek *Code* of the Church Universal, forbidding to reade in Churches any other Books, then those which are Canonical; gives us withal a long Catalogue of them. *Dionysius Exiguus*, although he hath indeed inserted in his Collection *Num.* 162. the beginning of the said Canon, which forbiddeth to reade any other Books in the Churches, besides the sacred Volumes of the Old and New Testament; yet hath he wholly omitted the Catalogue, or List of the said Books: fearing, as I conceive, lest the Tail of this Catalogue might scandalize the Church of Rome; where, many years before, Pope *Innocent* had, by an expresse Decree to that purpose, put into the Canon of the Old Testament, the *Maccabees*, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, &c. of which Books the Fathers of the Council of *Laodicea* make no mention at all, naming but XXII Books of the Old Testament; and in the Catalogue of the New, utterly omitting the *Apocalypse*. If any Man can shew me any better reason of this suppression, let him speak: as for my part I conceive this the most probable that can be given; however, we are not at all bound to divine, what the motive should be, that made *Dionysius* cut off that part of the Canon. For, whatsoever the reason were, it serves the turn well enough, to make it appear, that at

Innocent. I.
ep. 3. ad Exup.
Tholos. c. 7.

Perron Repl.
l. i. c. l.
* Christ. Jus-
tel. in Not. ad
Can. 24. Cod.
Gr. Eccles.
Afric.

that time they made no great conscience to curtail, if need were, the very Text of the Canons themselves. So that if we had not had the good luck to have had this Canon entire, and perfect, in divers other Monuments of Antiquity; as namely, in the Collections of the Greeks, and also in the Councils of the French Church; we should at this Day have been wholly ignorant, what the judgement of the Fathers of *Laodicea* was, touching the Canon of the holy Scriptures; which is one of the principal Controversies of these times. It is true, I confess, that the Latins have their Revenge upon the Greeks, reproaching Them in like manner, because that in their Translation of the Code of the Canons of the *African* Church, they have left the Books of the *Maccabees* quite out of the Roll of the Books of the Scriptures, which is set down in the 24 Canon of their Collection, expressly against the faith of all the Latin copies of this Collection, both Printed, and Manuscript; as Cardinal *Perron* affirmeth: and yet there are some others, * who assure us, that no Book of *Maccabees* appears at all in this Canon, in the Collection of *Cresconius*, a Bishop of *Africk*, not yet printed. The Greek Code represents unto us VII Canons of the I. Council of *Constantinople*; which are in like manner found both in *Balsamon*, and in *Zonaras*, and also in the Greek and Latine Edition of the General Councils, printed at *Rome*. The Three last of these do not appear at all, in the Latine Code of *Dionysius*; though they are very considerable ones, as to the business they relate to, which is, The Order in Proceeding, in passing Judgement upon Bishops accused; and in receiving such persons, who forsaking their communion with Hereticks, desire to be admitted into the Church. It is very hard to say, what should move the Collector to geld this Council thus. But this I am very well assured of, that in the VI Canon, which is one of those he hath omitted, and which treateth of judging of Bishops accused, there is not the least mention made, of *Appealing to Rome*; nor of any *Reserved Cases*, wherein it is not permitted to any, save onely to the Pope

himself, to judge a Bishop: the power of hearing and determining all such matters being here wholly, and absolutely referred to the Provincial Synods, and to their Diocesans. Now whether the Greeks added this tail to the Council of *Constantinople*, (which yet is not very probable,) or whether *Dionysius*, or the Church of *Rome* curtailed this Council, it will still that way also appear clearly, that this boldness in gelding, or making Additions to Ecclesiastical Writings, is not at all in use in these dayes. After the Canons of *Constantinople*, there follow in the Greek Code, VIII canons of the General Council of *Ephesus*, set down also both by *Balsamon*, and *Zonaras*, and printed with the Acts of the said Council of *Ephesus*, in the First Tome of the Roman Edition. But *Dionysius Exiguus* hath discarded them all, not giving us any one of them: and you will hardly be able to give a handsome guess, what his reason should be: unless perhaps it were, because that the business of the eighth Canon displeased him: which is, that the Bishops of *Cyprus* had their Ordinations within themselves, without admitting the Patriarch of *Antioch* to have any thing to do with it: and that the same course ought to be observed in all other Provinces, and Dioceses: so that no Bishop should have power to intrude into a Province, which had not from the beginning been under His, & His Predecessours jurisdiction: * For fear, that under the pretence of the Administration of Sacred Offices, the pride of a Secular Power should thrust it self into the Church; & so by this means we should lose (said these good Fathers) by little and little, before we were aware, the Liberty that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of all mankind, hath purchased for us with his own Blood. I know not, whether this Constitution, and these words, have put the Latines into any fright, or not: or whether any other reason hath moved them, not to receive the Canons of the Council of *Ephesus* into their Code. But this is certain, that they do not appear any where among them; and it is now at the least seven hun-

* Concil. Eph.
Can. 8. qui in
VII. Gr. est
178. Cod. Can.
Eccl. "Ινα μη
τῶν πατέρων
οἱ κανόνες πα-
ραβαίνωνται,
μηδὲ ἐν ἑ-
ξουσίας αἰρε-
τικῆς κοσμι-
κῆς τῶν
παρρησιάζον-
ται. μηδὲ
λάτουμεν ἡ-
μις ἐν δού-
λοις καὶ ἐν
υἱοῖς ἀνθρώπων
πολλοῖς, οἱ
οὐκ ἔχοντες
ἐξουσίαν
τοιαύτην, ὡς
ἔχει ὁ Χρῆ-
στος ὁ υἱὸς
τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Anastaf. Bibli-
oth. Praef. in
Synod. VIII.
Tom. 3. Concil.
gen.

Conc. Chalc.
Can. 28. Cod.
Græc. Eccl. 71-
niv. 206.
τῷ βασιλεῖ
καὶ συκλητῶ
τιμωθεῖσαν
πόλιν, καὶ τῶν
ἰσων ἀπολαύ-
σαν πρεσβεί-
ων τῇ πρεσ-
βυτέρῳ βασι-
λεὶ Διόσκωρῳ
ἐν τοῖς ἐκ-
κλησιαστικοῖς
ὡς ἐκείνην
μεγαλυνεῖ
θεοφιλέστα-
τον
μετ' ἐκείνων
ὑποτάσσων.

dred and fifty years and upward, that *Anastafius Biblio-*
thecarius, the Popes Library-Keeper, testified, that these
Canons were not any where to be found, in the most An-
cient Latine Copies; withal accusing the Greeks of ha-
ving forged them. But let Them try out this Dispute a-
mong themselves: yet whether these Canons were For-
ged by the Greeks; or whether they have been blotted
out of this Council, and smothered by the Latines; it is
still a clear case, that the Cheat is very near of eight hun-
dred years standing. But in the next example that fol-
lows, the business is evidently clear, without any more
ado. For whereas the Greek code, *Num. 206*, sets be-
fore us in the XXVIII Canon of the General Council of
Chalcedon, a Decree of those Fathers, by which, con-
formably to the First Council of *Constantinople*, they or-
dained, that seeing that the City of *Constantinople* was the
seat of the Senat, and of the Empire, and enjoyed the same
Priviledges with the City of *Rome*; that therefore it should
in like manner be advanced to the same Height, and Great-
ness in Ecclesiastical Affairs, being the second Church in
order; after *Rome*: and that the Bishop of it should have
the Ordaining of Metropolitans, in the Three Diocesses
of *Pontus, Asia, and Thrace*: which Canon is found both
in *Balsamon* and *Zonaras*; and also hath the Testimony
of the greatest part of the Ecclesiastical Historians, both
Greek, and Latine, that it is a Legitimate Canon of the
Council of *Chalcedon*; in the Acts of which Council, at
this day also Extant, it is set down at large: yet notwith-
standing in the collection of *Dionysius Exiguus*, this Ca-
non appears not at all, no more then as if there had ne-
ver been any such thing thought of at *Chalcedon*. We
know very well, that Pope *Leo*, and some others of his
Successours rejected it: but he that promised us, that he
would make an orderly Digestion of the Canons of the
Councils, and translate them out of the Greek; why, or
how, did he, or ought he to omit, this so remarkable a
Canon? If all other Evidences had been lost, how should

we have been able so much as to have guessed, that any such thing was ever treated of at *Chalcedon*? Where, or by what means could we have learnt, what the opinion was of the DCXXX Fathers, which met here together, touching this Point; which is the most Important one, of all those that are at this day controverted betwixt us? And it is now eleven hundred years, and upward, since this Omission was first on foot. And who will pass his word to us, that among so many other Writings, whether of Councils, or particular Mens Works, whether Greek or Latine, the like liberty hath not been at any time used? Rather by these Forgeries which have come to our knowledge, who can doubt, but that there have been many other the like, which we are ignorant of? Thou hast gone along innocently perhaps, reading these Books of the Ancients, and believing, thou there findest the pure sense of Antiquity; and yet thou seest here, that from the beginning of the Sixth Century they have made no scruple of cutting off, from the most Sacred Books they had, whatsoever was not agreeable to the gust of the Times. And therefore, though we had no more against them then this, it were, in my judgement, a sufficient reason to move us to go on here very warily, and, as they say, With a stiff Rein, through this whole business. In the next place, there is a very observable Corruption in the Epistle of *Adrian I.* to the Emperour *Constantine*, in the time of the Second Council of *Nice*. For in the Latine Collection of *Anastasius*, made about seven hundred and fifty years since, *Adrian* is there made to speak very highly, and magnificently of the supremacy of his See; and he rebukes the Greeks very shrewdly, for having conferred upon *Tarasius*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Title of *Universal Bishop*. And all this while, there is not so much as one word of this to be found, neither in the Greek Edition of the said VII Council, nor yet in the common Latine ones. The Romanists accuse the Greeks of having suppressed these two Clauses: and the Greeks
again

*Concil. VII.
Añ. 2. Tom. 3.
Concil.*

again accuse the Romanists, of having foisted them in ; neither is it easie to determine , on which side the guilt lies. However, it is sufficient for me, that wheresoever the fault lies, it evidently appeareth hence, that this curtalling and adding to Authors, according to the interest of the present Times , hath now a very long time been in practise amongst Christians. Which appears also very evidently, in the next Piece following in the same Council, namely, the Epistle of *Adrian* to *Tarasius* ; which is quite another thing in the Greek, from what it is in *Anastasius* his Latin Translation ; and that in Points too of as high importance , as those other before mentioned.

Conci. VII. Act. 5. Tom. 3. Conc. And so in the V. Act likewise, where both in the Greek Text, and also in the Old Latin Translation , *Tarasius* is called *Universal Bishop* ; this Title appears not at all in *Anastasius* his Translation. In the same Act the Fathers

Ib. p. 557. accuse the *Iconoclasts*, of having cut out many Leaves out of a certain Book in the Library at *Constantinople* ; and that at a certain city called *Photia*, they had burned to the number of Thirty Volumes ; and that besides all this, they had rased the Annotations out of a certain Book ; and all this out of the malice they bore against Images , which these Books spake well and favourably of. But yet I do not see, how we can excuse the Romanists, from be-

* *Concil. VII. Act. 6. advers. Synod. Iconocl. Sess. 5. ὅτι μετεβλήθη ἡ εὐσάρξ αὐτῆς μωρὴν εἰς ἰσὺν τοῦ θεοῦ.* ing guilty of corrupting *Anastasius*, in those passages above noted ; nor yet of the injury they do *Eusebius*, in the Exposition which they give of some certain words of His, onely to render Him odious ; * objecting against Him, that He saith, *That the Carnal Form of Jesus Christ was changed into the nature of the Deity* : whereas, all that he saith is, *That it was changed by the Deity, dwelling in it*. Whence it appears, how much credit we are to give to these Men, when they alleage here and there divers strange and unheard of Pieces ; and on the contrary, scornfully reject what ever their Adversaries bring ; as, for example , they did a remarkable Passage , alleaged by them out of *Epiphanius* : which Passage they refused as suppositious ;

fititious; Because (said they) if Epiphanius had been of the same judgement with the Iconoclasts, he would then in his Panarium; have reckoned the Reverencing of Images among the other Heresies. And may not a Man by the same reason as well conclude, that Epiphanius was a favourer of the Iconoclasts; for otherwise he would have reckoned their opinion among the rest of the Heresies by him reckoned up? I shal not here say any thing of their refusing so boldly, and confidently, those Passages alleaged out of Theodotus Ancyranus, and others. Since that time you shall finde nothing more ordinary, in the Books both of the Greeks and the Latins, then the like reproaches, that they mutually cast upon each other, of having corrupted the Pieces and Evidences wherein their cause was the most concerned: As for example, at the Councell of Florence, Mark Bishop of Ephesus disputing concerning the Procession of the holy Ghost, had nothing to answer to two passages that were alledged against him; the one out of that piece of Epiphanius, which is entituled, *Ancoratus*: the other out of S. Basils Writings, against *Eunomius*; but that That piece of Epiphanius had been long since corrupted: & so likewise of that other passage out of S. Basil, that Some one or other who favoured the opinion of the Latines, had accommodated that place to their sence: withall † protesting, that in all Constantinople there was but four Copies onely of the said Book that had that passage alledged by the Latins; but that there was in the said City above a thousand other copies wherein those words were not to be found at all. Then had the Latines nothing to return upon them more readily, then that it had been the ordinary practice, not of the West, but of the East, to corrupt Books; and for proof hereof, they presently cite a passage out of S. Cyrill, which we have formerly set down: where notwithstanding he speaks not any thing, save onely of the Hereticks; that is to say, of the Nestorians, who were said to have falsified the Epistle of Athanasius to Epictetus; but not a word there of all the Eastern men,

much

Ib. p. 616. Εἰ
ἴω τῶν εἰδω-
λων ποιήσιν
ἀλλοτρίαν τῆ
Χρῆσθ' ἐγίνω-
σκεν, εἰς τὸν
ἀειδμὸν τῶν
αἱρεσεων
ταύτῃ καὶ ἰε-
ταξεν αὐν.

Concil. Florent.
Añ. 18. To. 4.
Conc. τὸ το τὸ
βιβλίον ἔστι
διαφθαλεῖον
καὶ πολλῶν
χρόνων.
† Ib. Añ. 20.

*Apol. Gregor.
Mon. Protosyn.
contr. Ep. Marc.
Eph. Tom. 4.
Concil.*

*Petavi^o Not.
in Epiphan.*

much lesse of the whole Greek Church. The Greeks then charged back upon the Latines the story of Pope *Zozimus*, mentioned in the preceding chapter. And thus did they bandy stiffely one against the other, each of them, as may be easily perceived, having much more appearance of reason and of truth, in their accusation of their Adversary, then in excusing or defending themselves. I shall here give you also another the like answer, made by one *Gregorius*, a Greek Monk, a strong maintainer of the Union made at *Florence*, to a passage cited by *Mark Bishop of Ephesus*, out of a certain Book of *John Damascene*; affirming, that *The Father onely is the Cause*, to wit, in the Trinity: *These words* (saith this Monk) *are not found in any of the ancient Copies*: which is an evident argument, that it had been afterwards foisted in by the Greeks, to bring over this Doctor to their opinion. *Petavius* hath in like manner lately quitted his hands of an objection, taken out of the 68. Canon of the Apostles, against the Fasting on Saturdayes, which is observed in the Romane Church: pretending, that the Greeks have falsified this Canon. But whosoever desires to see how full of uncertainty the Writings of this later Antiquity are, let him but read the VIII. Councell which is pretended by the Western Church, to be a generall Councell, and but compare the Latine and the Greek copies together, withall taking especial notice of the Preface of *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*; who after he hath very sharply reprov'd the Ambition of the Greeks, and accused the Canons which they produce of the Third General Council, as Forged, and supposititious; to make short work with them, he sayes in plain terms, that the Greeks have corrupted all the Councils, except the First. What then have we now left us to build upon, seeing that this Corruption hath prevailed even as far as on the Councils, which are the very heart of the Ancient Monuments of the Church? Neither yet hath the *Nicene Creed*, which hath been approved and made sacred in so many General Councils, been

been able to escape these Alterations. For, not to speak any thing of these expressions, which are of little Importance, *de cœlis*, from Heaven; *secundum Scripturas*, according to the Scriptures; *Deum de Deo*, God of God; which Cardinal *Julian*† affirmed, at the Council of *Flo-* † Concil. Flor. Sess. 12.
rence, were to be found in some Creeds, and in some others were not: it is now the space of some Ages past, since the * Concil. Flor. Sess. 4. & 5. & Conc. VII. Act. 7. quo loco. Eastern Church * accused the Western of having added, *Filioque*, and the Son, in the Article touching the Pro- videnda annot. marg.
cession of the Holy Ghost: the Western Men as sense-
lessly charging back upon them again, that they have cut it off: which is an Alteration, though it seem but Trivial in appearance, that is of great Importance, both to the one side, and to the other, for the decision of that great Controversie, which hath hitherto caused a separation betwixt them; namely, *Whether or no the Holy Ghost proceed from the Son, as well as from the Father*: which is an evident Argument, that either the one, or the other of them, hath out of a desire to do service to their own side, laid false hands upon this Sacred Piece. Now what ever hath been attempted in this kinde by the Ancients, may well pass for Innocence, if compared but with what these Later Times hath dared to do: their Passion being of late years so much heated, that laying all Reason, and Honesty aside, they have most miserably, and shamelessly corrupted all sorts of Books, and of Authors. Of those Men that go so desperately to work, we cannot certainly speak of their baseness as it deserveth: and in my judgment, *Laurentius Bochart*, in his Preface to the *Decreta Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ*, had Laur. Bochart. Præfat. in Decret. Eccles. Gal.
all the reason in the World to detest these Taceo innumeros Auctores sacros, profanos, veteres, recentiores, ab istis tam improbi quam infelicitis ingenii hominibus miserabiliter decurtatos, vel ipsis Regibus parcere non assuetis, nedum S. Ludovico, cujus Pragmatica (ut vocant) Sanctionis articulos nonnul-
Men, as people of a most wretched and malicious spirit, who have most miserably gelded, and mangled so infinite a number of Authors, both Sacred, and Profane, Ancient, and Modern; their ordinary custom being, to spare no person, no not Kings; nor even *S. Lewis* himself; out

los, maximè ad rei Gallicæ statum pertinentes, abs Bibliotheca illa SS. PP. Constitutionibus Regiis; & statutis Episcoporum quorundam Synodalibus Reginae urbium Lutetiæ nuper impressis expunxerunt. Væ, itum væ, ut cum Vidente exclamem, Nebulonibus, qui tales Musarum Castitati & integritati venerandæ non solum infidias struunt, sed & Musas ipsas impudenter, & nequiter subdolo religionis zelo, nullius frontis homines devirginant, fucumq; istum pietatis nomen ementitum, inter Pias fraudes numerant.

of whose Pragmatica Sanctio, (as they call it,) they have blotted out some certain Articles, (principally those which concerned the State of France,) out of the Bibliotheca Patrum, the Constitutiones Regiæ, and the Synodical Decrees of certain Bishops, lately printed at Paris. Wo, Wo, (to speak with the Prophet) to these Mischievous Knaves, who do not onely lay such treacherous snares for the Venerable Chastity, and Integrity of the Muses, but do also most impudently, and wickedly deflower, under a false and counterfeit pretence of Religion, even the Muses themselves: accounting this juggling to be but a kinde of Pious Fraud. But we do not here write a-

gainst these Men: it is sufficient for us, to give a hint onely of that which is as clear as the Sun; namely, that these Men have altered, and corrupted, by their Additions in some places, and gelding of others, very many of the Evidences of the Ancients Belief. These are they, who in this Period of the XII Epistle of s. Cyprian, written to the

* Cypr. Ep. 12. Extr. Audiant quæso patienter Consilium nostrum; expectent regressionem nostram, ut cum ad vos per Dei misericordiam venerimus, convocati Coepiscopi plures secundum Domini doctrinam, & Confessorum præsentiam, beatorum Martyrum litteras & desideria examinare possimus. Cypr. Pamel. & Gryph. Lugd. An. 1537. l. 3. ep. 16. p. 148. Aliæ Editiones, ut Manutii, item Morellii, Par. An. 1568. p. 158. legunt. Secundum vestram quoque sententiam.

people of Carthage; * I desire that they would but patiently hear our Councel, &c. that our fellow Bishops being assembled together with us, we may together examine the Letters, and desires of the blessed Martyrs, according to the Doctrine of our Lord, and in the presence of the Confessors, & secundum vestram quoque sententiam, and according as you also shall think convenient: have maliciously left out these words, & secundum vestram quoque sententiam: by which we may plainly understand, that these Men

would not by any means have us know, that the faithful people had ever any thing to do with, or had any Vote in the Affairs of the Church. These be they, who in his

Fourth Epistle, have changed † *Petram* into *Petrum*; a

Rock into *S. Peter*: and who following the steps of the Ancient Corrupters, have foisted in, in his Tract, *De Unitate Ecclesie*, here & there as they thought fit, whole Periods, and Sentences; against the faith of the best and most uncorrupted Manuscripts: as, for example in this place: * *He built his Church on Him alone, (S. Peter,) & commanded him to feed his sheep:* and in this, † *He established one sole Chair*: and this other, * *The Primacy was given to Peter, to shew, that there was but one Church, and one Chaire of Christ*: and this, † *Who left the Chair to Peter, on which he had built his Church*: which are Additions, that every one may see, what they aim at. These are the Men, who cannot conceal the * regret they have, for not having suppressed an Epistle of *Firmilianus*,

Archbishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, who was one of the most eminent persons of his Time: which Epistle *Manutius* had indeed omitted in his Roman Edition of *S. Cyprian*; but was after ward put in by *Morellius* in his, amongst the Epistles of *S. Cyprian*, to whom it was written: and all because it informs us, how the other Bishops in Ancient Times had dealt with the Pope. So that we may hence observe, of what temper these Men have alwayes been; and may guess how many the like Pieces have been killed in the Nest. Out of the like Shop it is, that poor *S. Ambrose* is sent abroad, but so ill accoutred, and in so pittiful a plight, that *Nicolas Faber* hath very much bewailed the Corruption of him. For those Gentle-

† *Cypr. Pamel. Epist. 40. p. 7. Cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata. Gryph. An. 1537. p. 52. Morel. An. 1564. p. 124. habebant, super Petram.*

* *Cypr. Pamel. p. 254. Super illum unum ædificat Ecclesiam suam, & illi pascendas mandat oves suas. Quæ verba desiderantur in Edit. Gryph. anno 1537. & Morel. anno 1564.*

† *Cypr. Pamel. ibid. Unam Cathedram Constituit: quæ verba desiderabantur in Editione Gryphii, anno 1537. & Morel. anno 1564.*

* *Cypr. Pamel. ibid. Primatus Petro datur, ut una Ecclesia Christi, & Cathedra una monstretur: & pastores sunt omnes; sed unus grex ostenditur, qui ab Apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur: quæ verba omnia, exceptis illis, (ut una Ecclesia monstretur) non habebantur in Edit. Gryph. neque Morel. uti sup.*

† *Cypr. Pamel. p. 254. Qui Cathedram Petri, super quam fundata est Ecclesia, ab- sunt à Gryph. & Morel. Edit.*

* *Pamel. in arg. ep. 75. Cypr. Atque adeo fortassis consultius foret, nunquam editam fuisse hanc Epistolam; ita ut putent, consultò illam omisisse Manutium.*

Nic. Faber, in ep. ad Front. Ducaum in Oppusc. p. 216.

Ibid. p. 215.

men, who have published him, being over ingenuous (as he saith) in another mans Works, have changed, mangled, and transposed divers things : and particularly they have separated the Books of the *Interpellation* of *Job*, and of *David*, which were put together in all other Editions ; and to do this, they have, by no very commendable example, foisted in, and altered divers things : and they have likewise done as much, in the *First Apology* of *David* ; and more yet in the Second ; where they have rased out of the eighth Chapter five, or six lines, which are found in all the ancient Editions of this Father. They have also attributed to this Author certain Tracts, which are not His ; as that, *Of the forbidden Tree* ; and that other, upon the last Chapter of the *Proverbs*. And we may by the way also take notice, that this is the Edition which They followed, who printed *S. Ambrose* his Works at *Paris*, Anno 1603. Such hands as these they were that have so villanously curtailed the Book, *Of the lives of the Popes*, written by *Anastasius*, or rather by *Damasus* ; leaving out, in the very Entry of it, the Authors Epistle Dedicatory, written to *S. Hierome* ; because it did not so well suit with the present Temper of *Rome* : leaving out in like manner in the Life of *S. Peter*, the Conclusion of all, which I shall here set down, as it is found in all Manuscripts. * He con-

* Hic B. Clementem Episcopum consecravit, eiq; cathedram, vel Ecclesiam omnem disponendam commisit, dicens : sicut mihi gubernandi tradita est à Domino meo Jesu Christo potestas ligandi solvendiq; ita & ego tibi committo, ut ordines dispositores diversarum causarum, per quos actus Ecclesiasticus profligetur ; & tu minimè in curis sæculi deditus repariaris, sed solummodo ad orationem, & prædicationem populi vacare stude. Post hanc dispositionem Martyrio coronatur. Habentur hæc ex Euchar. Salm, ad Sirmond. cap. 5. Editio. Par. anno 1621. p. 664.

secrated *S. Clement Bishop*, and committed to his charge the Ordering of his Seat, or of the whole Church, saying : As the power of Binding, and Loosing, was delivered to me by my Lord Jesus Christ ; in like manner do I commit to thy charge, the appointing of such persons, as may determine of such Ecclesiastical Causes as may arise ; that Thou thy self mayest not be taken up with worldly cares, but mayest apply thy whole studies only to Prayer, & preaching to the people. After he had thus di-

posed

posed of his Seat, he was crowned with Martyrdom. This is the Testament that S. Peter made; but it hath been suppressed and kept from us, because in it he hath charged his successors with such Duties, as are quite contrary both to their humour, and practise. And in another place, in the same Book, instead of, *Papa Urbis*, that is to say, *The Pope, or Bishop of the City*, namely, of Rome, as all Manuscripts have it; these worshipful Gentlemen will needs have us read, *Papa Orbis*, that is, *The Bishop of the whole World*: for as much as this is now the stile of the Court, and this hath now long since grown to be the Title of the Bishop of Rome. These are the Men, who in * *Fulbertus*, Bishop of Chartres, where he cites that remarkable passage of S. Augustine, *This then is a Figure, commanding us to communicate of the passion of the Lord*, have inserted these words, *Figura ergo est, dicet Hæreticus*; It is a Figure then, will an Heretick say: cunningly making us believe this to be the saying of an Heretick, which was indeed the true sense and meaning of S. Augustine himself, & so cited by * *Fulbertus*. These be the very Men also, who in S. Gregory have changed *Exercitus Sacerdotum*, into *Exitus Sacerdotum*; reading in the 38 Epistle of his fourth Book, thus: *All things, &c. which have been foretold, are accomplished. The King of Pride (he speaks of Antichrist) is at hand; and which is horrible to be spoken, the Failing, (or end) of Priests is prepared: whereas the Manuscripts (and it is so cited by Bellarmine too,) read, an Army of Priests is prepared for him. These be they who have made Aimonius to say,* * That the Fathers of the pretended VIII General Council had ordained the Adoration of Images, according as had been before determined by the Orthodox Doctors;

Anastas. in Stephano V. p. 215. Dei ordinante providentiâ Papa Orbis consecratus est. MS. habent, Papa urbis: ex Salm. in Euchar. ad Sirmond. pag. 464.

* Vid. Fulbert. Carnot. Edit. à Villerfio, anno 1608. Par. p. 168.

Gregor. M. ep. l. 4. ep. 38. Omnia, &c. quæ prædicta sunt, fiunt. Rex superbix prope est; & quod dici nefas est, Sacerdotum ei præparatur exitus. MS. habent, Sacerdotum ei præparatur exercitus: Ex Tho. James. in Vindic. Gregor. loc. 666. quo modo citatur etiam à Bellarmino hic locus, lib. 3. de Rom. Pont. c. 13. Sect. Addit. & extr. c. Sect. par ratione.

* Aimon de Gest. Franc. lib. 5. c. 8. In quâ Synodo, (quam Octavam Universalem illuc convenientes appellarunt,) de imaginibus adorandis, secundum quod Orthodoxi Doctores antea definierant, statuerunt: legendum; Aliter quàm Orthodoxi definierant; sic enim legit ipse Baron. Annal. Tom. X. an. 869.

whereas he wrote quite contrary, that they had ordained otherwise, then had been formerly determined by the *Orthod. Doct.* as appears plainly, not only by the Manuscripts, but also by the most ancient Editions of this Author; & even by Card. *Baronius* his alleaging of this passage also, in the *X. Tome* of his *Annals*, *An. Dom.* 869. These are they, who have quite rased out this following Passage, out of

Οἱ γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ σωτηροῦ-
τες, καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, πείθειν
εἰσὶν ἡμῶν, ὅτι δι' αὐτῶν
καὶ ὁ νόμος ἐδόθη. Ἐμείνε
δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐν Φρυγίᾳ ἰδοὺς,
ὡς καὶ τὴν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ
συνόδον νόμον καλεῖται τὸ
παρέναι ἀγγέλοις, καὶ πα-
ροῦσαι· ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ναοὶ
αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀρχαῖα
τῷ Μιχαὴλ πολλοί.

Oecumenius: For they who defended, and fa-
voured the Law, introduced also the worship-
ping of Angels; and that, because the Law
had been given by them. And this custome con-
tinued long in Phrygia, in so much that the
Council of Laodicea made a Decree, forbid-
ding to make any addresses to Angels, or to
pray to them: whence also it is, that we finde
many Temples among them, erected to Michael
the Archangel: Which Passage David Hæf-

chelus, in his Notes upon the Books of *Origen* against
Celsus, p. 483. witnesseth, that himself had seen, and
read, in the Manuscripts of *Oecumenius*; and yet there is
no such thing to be found, in any of the printed Copies.
Who would believe, but that the *Breviaries*, and *Missals*
should have escaped their Razour? Yet as it hath
been observed by persons of eminent both Learning, and
Honesty, where it was read, in the Collect on *S. Peters*
day heretofore thus; *Deus, qui B. Petro Apostolo tuo, col-
latis clavibus regni cœlestis, animas ligandi, & solvendi
Pontificium tradidisti*: that is, O God, who hast commit-
ted to thy Apostle *S. Peter*, by giving him the Keyes of the
Heavenly Kingdom, the Episcopal power of Binding, and
Loosing Souls: in the later Editions of these *Breviaries*,
and *Missals*, they have wholly left out the word *animas*,
Souls; to the end that people should not think, that the
Popes Authority extended onely to Spiritual Affaires,
and not to Temporal also. And so likewise in the Gospel
upon the Tuesday following the Third Sunday in Lent,
they have printed, † *Dixit Jesus Discipulis suis*; that is,
Jesus

Simon Vigor.
l. 1. de la Mo-
narch. Ecclesi-
astique, ch. 1.
F. Paolo di
Vinet. Apol.
contr. Bellarm.
Sic legitur in
Brev. Clement.
VIII. jussu re-
cognitis, p. 937.
† *Sic legitur in*
Breviar. Clem.
VIII. jussu re-
cogn. p. 369.

Jesus said to his Disciples; whereas it was in the Old Books, * *Respiciens Jesus in Discipulos, dixit Simoni Petro, si peccaverit in te frater tuus: Jesus looking back up-* on his Disciples, said unto Simon Peter; if thy Brother have
* Sic legebatur in Brev. intro- pres. Paris. 1492. per Jo. de Prato.

offended against thee, &c. cunningly omitting those words, relating to Simon Peter, for fear it might be thought, that our Saviour Christ had made S. Peter, that is to say, the Pope, subject to the Tribunal of the Church, to which he there sends him. And if the Council of Trent would but have hearkned to Thomas Passio, a Canon of Valencia, they should have blotted out of the Pontifical all such passages, as make any mention of the peoples giving their Suffrage, and Consent, in the Ordination of the Ministers of the Church; and among the rest, that, where the Bishop at the Ordination of a Priest, saith, That * *it was not*

without good reason, that the Fathers had ordained, that the Advice of the people should be taken, touching the Election of those persons, who were to serve at the Altar; to the end, that having given their assent to their Ordination, they might the more readily yeeld obedience to those who were so ordained. The mean-
* Pontif. Rom. de Ordin. Presbyt. fol. 38. Neque enim fuit frustra à Patribus institutum, ut de electione illorum, qui ad regimen altaris adhibendi sunt, consultatur etiam populus; quia de vita & conservatione presentandi, quod nonnumquam ignoratur à pluribus, scitur à paucis; & necesse est, ut facilius ei quis obedientiam exhibeat ordinato, cui assensum præbuerit ordinando.

ing of this honest Canon was, that to take away all such Authorities from the Hereticks, the best way would be to blot them all out of the Pontifical; to the end, that there might be no trace, or footstep of them left remaining for the future. † But they have not contented themselves with corrupting onely in this manner some certain Books, out of which perhaps we might have been able to discover, what the Opinion, & sense of the Ancients hath been; but they have also wholly abolished a very great number of others. And for the better understanding hereof, we are to take notice, that the Emperours of the First Ages took all possible care for the stifling and abolishing all such Writings, as were declared prejudicial to
† Pet. Soarez. Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 7.
the

the True Faith ; as namely the Books of the *Arrians*, and *Nestorians*, and others ; which were under a great penalty forbidden to be read, but were to be wholly suppressed and abolished, by the Appointment of these Ancient Princes. The Church it self also did sometimes call in the Books of such persons, as had been dead long before, by a common consent of the Catholick Party ; as soon as they perceived any thing in them, that was not consonant to the present opinion of the Church : as it did at the V General Council, in the business of *Theodorus*, *Theodoretus*, and *Ibas*, all three Bishops, the one of *Mopsuestia*, the other of *Cyrrus*, and the third of *Edessa* ; anathematizing each of their severall Writings, notwithstanding these persons had been all dead long before : dealing also, even in the quiet times of the Church, with *Origen* in the same manner, after he had been now dead about three hundred years. The Pope then hath not failed to imitate, now for the space of many Ages, both the one, and the other of these rigorous courses, withal encreasing the harshness of them from time to time : in so much that, in case any of the opinions of the Ancients hath been by chance found at any time to contradict His ; we are not to make any doubt, but that he hath very carefully, and diligently suppressed such Pieces ; without sparing any, though they were written perhaps two, three, four, or five hundred years before, more then the others. As for example ; It is at this day disputed, whether or no the Primitive Church had in their Temples, and worshipped the Images of Christ, and of Saints. This Controversie hath been sometime very eagerly, and with much heat, and for a long time together, debated in the Greek Church. That Party which maintained the Affirmative, bringing the business before the VII Council, held at *Nicaea*, it was there ordained ; that it should be unlawful for any Man to have the Books of the other Party ; withal charging every Man to bring what Books they had of that Party to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to do with them, as we must conceive

Conc. V. Col.
VIII.

Id. Col. V. &
Col. VIII. A-
nath. XI.

Concil. VII.
Act. 8. Can. 9.

conceive, according as had been required by the Legats of Pope Adrian; that is, that they should burn all those Books, which had been written against the Venerable Images: including, no doubt, within the same Condemnation, all such Writings of the Ancients also, as seemed not to favour Images; as namely, the Epistle of Eusebius to Constantia; and that of Epiphanius to John of Hierusalem, and others; which are not now extant, but were, in all probability, at that time abolished. For, as for the Epistle of Epiphanius, that which we now have, is onely S. Hieromes Translation of it, which happened to be preserved in the Western parts; where the passion in the behalf of Images was much less violent, then it was in the Eastern: but the Original Greek of it is no where to be found. Adrian II. in his Council ordained in like manner, that the Council held by Photius, against the Church of Rome, should be burnt, together with his other Books, and all the Books of those of his Party, which had been written against the See of Rome: and he commanded the very same thing also in the VIII. Council, which is accounted by the Latins for a General Council. It is impossible, but that in these Fires very many Pieces must needs have perished, which might have been of good use to us, for the discovering what the opinion of the Ancients was, whether touching Images, which was the business of the VII Council; or that other Controversie, touching the Power of the Pope; which was the principal Point debated, in the Synod held by Photius; some of whose Pieces they, for the self same reason, do at this day keep at Rome under Lock and Key; which doubtless they would long ere this have published, had they but made as much for the Pope, as in all probability they make against him. This rigorous proceeding against Books came at length to that height, as that Leo X. at the Council of Lateran, which brake up An. 1518, decreed, That no Book should be printed, but what had first been diligently examined, at Rome,

Idem. Añ. 5. ἵνα πάν-
τα τὰ συγγράμματα
τὰ κατὰ τῶν σεωπῶν εἰ-
κότων ἡρώδεια καὶ ἀ-
ναθεματισμῶς λεησθέν-
σιν, ἢ τῷ πνεὶ παρὰ
δοῶσι.

Cap. I. Habe-
tur in Concil.
VIII. Añ. 7.
Ibid. Añ. I. in
Ep. Adriane.

Conc. Later.
sub Leone X.
Sess. 10.

by the Master of the Palace; in other places, by the Bishop, or some other person deputed by him to the same purpose; and by the Inquisitor: under this penalty; That all Book-sellers offending herein, should forfeit their Books, which should be presently burnt in publick; and should pay a hundred Ducats, when it should be demanded, toward the Fabrick of S. Peter; (a kinde of punishment, this, which we finde no examples of, in all the Canons of the Ancient Church,) and should also be suspended from exercising his Function, for the space of a whole year. This is a General Sentence, and which comprehendeth as well the Works of the Fathers, as of any others; as appeareth plainly by this, that

Ibid. Responderunt omnes placere, excepto R. P. D. Alexio, Episcopo Malfitano, qui Dixit, Placere de novis operibus, non autem de Antiquis.

† Concil. Trid. Sess. 5. Decreto de Edit. & usu Sacror. libr.

* Idem Sess. 18. Quo facilius ipsa possit varias, & peregrinas doctrinas, tanquam Zizania, à Christianæ Veritatis tritico separare.

† Concil. Trident. Sess. 25. decreto de Indice libr.

the Bishop of *Malsi*, having given in his opinion, saying, that he concurred with them, in relation to *New Authors*, but not to the *Old*; all the rest of the Fathers voted simply, for All; neither was there any Limitation at all added to this Decree of the Council. This very Decree hath been since strongly confirmed by the † Council of *Trent*, which appointed also certain persons to take a Review of the Books, and Censures, and to make a Report of them to the Company, * To the end that there might be a separation made, betwixt the Good Grain of *Christian Verity*, and the Darnel of strange Doctrines: That is in plain terms, that they might

blot out of all manner of Books, whatsoever relished not well with the gust of the Church of *Rome*. But these Fathers, having not the leisure themselves to look to this Pious Work, appointed certain † Commissaries, who should give an account of this matter to the Pope: whence afterward it came to passe, that Pope *Pius IV.* first, and afterward *Sixtus V.* and *Clement VIII.* published certain Rules, and *Indexes*, of such Authors and Books, as they thought fit should be either quite abolished, or purged onely; and have given such strict order, for the printing of Books, as that in those Countries where

where this order is observed, there is little danger that ever any thing should be published, that is either contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, or which maketh any thing for their Adversaries. All these Instructions, which are too long to be inserted here, may be seen at the end of the Council of *Trent*, where they are usually set down at large. And in order to these Rules, they have since put forth their *Indices Expurgatorii*, (as they call them;) namely, that of the *Low Countries*, and of *Spain*, and other places; where these Gallants come with their Rasour in their hand, and sit in judgement upon all manner of Books, rasing out, and altering, as they please, Periods, chapters, and whole Treatises also often times, and that too in the Works of those Men, who for the most part were born, and bred up, and died also in the Communion of their own Church. If the Church for eight or nine hundred years since, had so sharp Rasors as these Men now have; it is then a vain thing for us, to search any higher, what the judgement of the Primitive Christians was, touching any particular Point: for, whatsoever it was, it could not have escaped the hands of such Masters. And if the Ancient Church had not heretofore any such Institution as this; why then do we, who pretend to be such Observers of Antiquity, practise these Novelties? I know very well, that these Men make profession of reforming onely the Writings of the Moderns: but who sees not, that this is but a Cloak which they throw over themselves; lest they should be accused as guilty of the same cruelty that *Jupiter* is, among the Poets; for having behaved himself so insolently against his own Father? Those Pieces which they rase out so exactly, in the Books of the Moderns, are the cause of the greater mischief to themselves, when they are found in the Writings of the Ancients, as sometimes they are. For what a senseless thing is it, to leave them in, where they hurt most; and to rase them out, where they do little hurt? The

* Ind. Expurgat: Sandoval. in Athanas. Ind. 1.

† Athanas. Orat. 3. contra Arian. οὐκ ὡν δεῖ δὲ μόνον τὸ θεωρεῖν.

* Id. in Frag. & Fest. ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερα ἐκείνα τῶν ἐξωθεν, ἃ κανονίζόμενα μὴ, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν τοῖς ἀρετῶς πορευομένοις καὶ βελομένοις κατηχεῖται τὸν Ἀποστολικὸν λόγον.

Id. in August.

Infr. li. c. 8.

Ind. Exp. Sandoval. in August.

August. contr.

Maxim. lib.

Nonne si tem-

plum alicui

Sancto Ange-

lo excellen-

tissimo de lig-

nis & lapidi-

bus facerem,

anathemati-

zetur à veri-

tate Christi, &

ab Ecclesia

Dei, &c.

Inquisition at Madrid puts out * these words, in the Index of Athanasius, Adorari solius Dei est; that is, † God alone is to be worshipped: and yet notwithstanding these words are still expressly found in the Text of Athanasius. The same Father saith, * That there were some other Books, (besides those which he had before set down,) which, in truth, were not of the Canon; and which the Fathers had ordained, should be read to those, who were newly come into the Christian Communion, and desired to be instructed in the Word of Piety: reckoning in this number, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Esther, Tobit, and some other. Nevertheless these very Cen-

sors put out, in the † Index of Athanasius his Works, those words which affirm, that the said Books are not at all Canonical. In the Index of S. Augustine they put out these words, Christ hath given the signe of his Body: which yet are evidently to be seen in the Text of this Father, in his Book against Adimantus, Chap. 12. They put out in like manner, these words: Augustine accounted the Eucharist necessary to be administered to Infants: which opinion of S. Augustine is very frequently found expressed, either in these very words, or the like, throughout his Works, as we shall see hereafter. They likewise put out these words; We ought not to build Temples to Angels: and yet the very Text of S. Augustine saith, If we should erect a Temple of Wood, or of Stone, to any of the holy Angels, should we not be Anathematized? And this is the practise of the Censors, both in the Low Countries, and in Spain, in many other particulars, which we shall not here set down. Now if thou cuttest off such Sentences as these, out of the Indexes of these Holy Fathers; why dost thou not as well rate them out of the Text also? Or if thou leavest them in the one, why dost thou blot them out in the other? What can the meaning be of so strange a way of proceeding in so Wise Men? But yet, who

who sees not the reason of it? For, these Sentences, which these Men thus boldly, and rudely correct, are as displeasing to them in the Ancients, as in the Moderns; and where they may safely do it, they expunge them, as well out of the one, as out of the other. But this they dare not do openly, for fear of giving too much scandal to the World, which they are unwilling to do: because if they should deal so uncivilly, and make so bold with Antiquity, they would quite take off that respect, which all people bear toward it; which being a matter which very nearly concerns themselves, it is a special point of wisdom in them, carefully to keep up the Reputation of it. But in lashing the poor Moderns, who have made *Indexes* to all the Works of the Fathers, they save their Credit, and do their business too; ruining the opinions which they hate, by chastising the one; and yet withal preserving the venerable Esteem of Antiquity, which they cannot subsist without, by sparing the other. And yet I cannot see, why *Bertram*, a Priest, who lived in the time of the Emperour *Charls the Bald*, which is about some seven hundred and fifty years since, should be reckoned among the Moderns: and yet his Book, *De Corpore, & Sanguine Domini*, is absolutely, and without any Limitation, forbidden to be read, in the *Index* of the Council of *Trent*, in the Letter B, among the Authors of the second *Classis*, as they call them. But yet the *Censors* of the *Low Countries* have dealt with him more gently, shall I say, or rather more cruelly; not taking his life away quite, onely maiming him in the several parts of his Body, and leaving him in the like sad condition with *Deiphobus* in the Poet:

----*Lacerum crudeliter ora,*

Ora, manusque ambas, populataq; tempora, raptis

Auribus, & truncatis inhonesto vulnere nares.

For they have cut you off, with one single dash of their Pen, two long Passages, consisting each of them of twenty eight, or thirty Lines apiece, and which are large enough

to.

to make up a very considerable part of a small Treatise; such as his is. And that the Reader may the better judge of the business, I shall here set down one of these Passages entire as it is. † We ought further to con-

† Bertram. Presbyt. lib. De Corp. & Sangu. Dom. Considerandum quoque, quod in pane illo non solum corpus Christi, verum etiam corpus in eum credentis populi figuretur: unde multis frumenti granis conficitur, quia corpus populi credentis multis per verbū Christi fidelibus augmentatur, (al. coaugmentatur.) Qua de re sicut mysterio panis ille Christi corp^o accipitur; sic etiā in mysterio membra populi credentis in Christū intimantur. Et sicut non corporaliter, sed spiritualiter panis ille credentiū corpus dicitur: sic quoque Christi corpus non corporaliter, sed spiritualiter necesse est intelligatur. Sic & in vino, qui sanguis Christi dicitur, aqua misceri iubetur, nec unum sine altero permittitur offerri, quia nec populus sine Christo, nec Christus sine populo, sicut nec caput sine corpore, vel corpus sine capite valet existere. Igitur si vinum illud, sanctificatum per ministrorum officium, in Christi sanguinem corporaliter convertitur, aqua quoque, quæ pariter admixta est, in sanguinem populi credentis necesse est corporaliter convertatur. Ubi namque una sanctificatio est, una consequenter operatio; & ubi par ratio, par quoque consequitur mysterium. At videmus in aqua secundum corpus nihil esse conversum, consequenter ergo & in vino nihil corporaliter o-

sider (saith Bertram, speaking of the Holy Eucharist,) *that in this Bread is represented not only the Body of Christ, but the Body of the People also, that believe in Him. And hence it is that it is made up of many several grains of wheat, because that the whole Body of believing People is united together, and made into one, by the Word of Christ. And therefore as it is by a Mystery, that we receive this Bread, for the Body of Christ: in like manner it is by a Mystery also, that the Members of the People believing in Christ, are here figured out unto us. And as this Bread is called the Body of Believers, not corporally, but spiritually; so is the Body of Christ also necessarily to be understood to be represented here, not corporally, but spiritually. In like manner is it in the Wine, which is called the Blood of Christ; and with which it is ordained, that Water be mixed; it being forbidden to offer the one, without the other: because that as the Head cannot subsist without the Body, nor the Body without the Head; in like manner neither can the People be without Christ, nor Christ without the People: so that in this Sacrament, the Water representeth the Image of the People. If then the Wine, after it is consecrated by the Office of Ministers, be corporally changed into the Blood of Christ, of necessity then must the Water also be changed corporally into the Body of the Believing people: because that where there is but one onely, and*

*

the

the same Sanctification, there can be but one and the same Operation: and where the Reason is equal, the Mystery also that follows it is equal. But now as for the Water, we see that there is no such corporal change wrought in it: it therefore follows, that neither in the Wine is there any corporal Transmutation. Whatsoever then of the Body of the People is signified unto us, by the Water, is taken spiritually: it followeth therefore necessarily, that we must, in like manner take spiritually, whatsoever the Wine representeth unto us, of the Blood of Christ. Again, those things, which differ among themselves, are not the same: Now the Body of Christ which died, and was raised up to life again, now dieth no more, being become immortal; and Death having no more power over it, it is eternal, and free from further suffering. But this, which is Consecrated in the Church, is Temporal, not Eternal; corruptible, not free from corruption; in its journey, & not in its native countrey. These two things therefore are different, one from the other, and consequently cannot be one & the same thing. And if they be not one and the same thing, how can any Man say, that this is the Real Body and Real Blood of Christ? For if it be the Body of Christ; & if it may be truly said, that this Body of Christ, is really & truly the Body of Christ: the Real Body of Christ being Incorruptible, and Impassible, and therefore Eternal; consequently this Body of Christ, which is consecrated in the Church, must of necessity also be both Incorruptible, & Eternal. But it cannot be denied, but that it doth corrupt; seeing it is cut into small pieces, and distributed (to the Communicants,) who bruise it very small with their teeth, and so take it down into their Body. Thus Bertram.

His other
passage

stensum. Accipitur spiritualiter, quicquid in aqua de populi corpore significatur; accipiat ergo necesse est spiritualiter quicquid in vino de Christi sanguine intimatur. Item, quæ à se differunt, idem non sunt: Corpus Christi, quod mortuum est, & resurrexit, & immortale factum jam non moritur, & mors illi ultra non dominabitur, æternum est, jam non passibile. Hoc autem, quod in Ecclesia celebratur, temporale est, non æternum; corruptibile est, non incorruptibile, in via est, non in patria. Differunt igitur à se, quapropter non sunt idem. Quod si non sunt idem, quomodo verum Corpus Christi dicitur, & verus sanguis? Si enim Corpus Christi est, & hoc dicitur verè, quia Corpus Christi in veritate Corpus Christi est, & si in veritate Corpus Christi, incorruptibile est, & impassibile, ac per hoc æternum. Hoc igitur Corpus Christi quod agitur in Ecclesia necesse est ut incorruptibile sit, & æternum. Sed negari non potest corrumpi, quod per partes commutatum dispartitur ad sumendum, & dentibus commolitur in corpus trajicitur.

Index Expurg. Belg. in Bertramo. Non male aut inconsultè omittantur igitur omnia hæc à fine paginæ: Considerandum quoque quod in pane illo, &c. Usq; ad illud multò post, Sed aliud est quod exterius geritur, &c. in ead. pag. Et seq. pag. omnia illa sequentia, Item quæ idem sunt, unâ definitione comprehenduntur, &c. Usque ad illud, Hoc namque quod agitur in viâ, spiritualiter, &c. Seq. pag.

Passage, which is longer yet then this, is of the same Nature; but I shall not here set it down, to avoid Prolixity. Now these Gentlemen finding, that the language of both these Passages did very ill accord with the business of Transubstantiation, they thought it the best way to cut them cleer out: for fear, least coming to the Peoples knowledge, they might imagine, that there had been Sacramentarians in the Church, ever since the time of *Charles the Bald*.

Thou then who ever thou art, that thinkest thy self bound to search in the Writings of the Fathers for the Doctrine of thy Salvation, learn from this Artifice of theirs, & those many other Cheats which we, to their great grief, are now searching into, what an extream desire they have to keep from us the Opinion, and sense of the Ancients in all those Particulars, where they never so little contradict their own Doctrine: and remembring withal, how they have had, and still have every day, such opportunities of doing what they please in this kinde, thou canst not doubt, but that they have struck deep enough, where there was cause: which blows of theirs, together with the Alterations, and Changes, that Time, the Malice of Hereticks, the Innocent and Pious Fraud of the Primitive Church, and the Passion of the Latter Christians have long since produced, have rendered the Writings, and Venerable Monuments of Antiquity, so imbroyled and perplexed, that it will be a very hard matter for any Man to make any clear, and perfect discovery of those things, which so many several Artists have endeavoured to conceal from Us.

CH A P. V.

Reason V. *That the Writings of the Fathers are hard to be understood, by reason of the Languages, and Idioms they wrote in, the Manner of their Writing, which is for the most part incombred with Figures, and Rhetorical Flourishes, and nice Logical subtilties, and the like; and also by reason of the Terms, which they for the most part used in a far different sense, from what they now bear.*

IF any Man, either by the light of his own proper Wit, or by the assistance and direction of some able, and faithful hand, shall at length be able thereby, as by the help of the *Clew* the Poets speak of, to winde himself happily out of these two Labyrinths, and to finde any Pieces of the Ancients, that are not onely Legitimate, but also entire, and uncorrupt; certainly that Man hath very good reason to rejoyce at his own good fortune, and to give **G O D** hearty thanks for it. For I must needs confess that it is no very small satisfaction to a Man, to have the opportunity of conversing with those Illustrious Persons of the Ages passed, and to learn of them, what their opinions were, and to compare our own with theirs;
--Verasque audire, & reddere voces.

But yet this I dare confidently pronounce, that if he would know out of them, what their sense, and opinion hath truly been, touching the Differences now in agitation; he will finde, that he is now but at the very beginning, and entrance of his business; and that there remain behinde many more Difficulties to be overcome in his passage, then he hath yet grappled with. One of the two disagreeing Parties, refusing the Scriptures for the judge of Controversies, by reason of its Obscurity, layes this
 K for

*Hier.ep.139.
ad Cypr. Ple-
rumque nimi-
um disertis
accidere so-
let, ut major
sit intelligen-
tiæ difficultas
in eorum ex-
planationib⁹,
quàm in iis
quæ explana-
re conantur.*

DeKarmine.

for a Ground, (and indeed rationally enough) that no ob-
scure Books are proper for the Decision of Controversies.
Now I do not know, why a Man may not, with as much
reason, say of the most of the Writings of the Fathers, as
s. *Hierome* did of some certain Expositors of some parts
of the Scriptures, *That it was more trouble to understand
Them well, then those very things which they took upon them
to expound* : that is to say, that it is much harder rightly
to understand Them, then the Scriptures themselves. For,
that a Man may be able fully to understand them, it is in
the first place necessary, that he have perfect and exact
skill in those Languages, wherein they wrote ; that is to
say, in the *Greek*, and *Latin*, which are the Tongues that
most of them wrote in. For, as for those of the Fathers,
who have written either in *Syriack*, or *Arabick*, or *E-
thiopian*, or the like vulgar tongues of their own; whose
Writings perhaps would be as useful to us, in the disco-
very of the opinions of the Ancient Church; as any others;
we have not, that I know of, any of these Monuments
now publickly to be seen abroad, but only some Translati-
ons of them, in *Greek*, or in *Latin* : as namely the Works
of S. *Ephrem*, (if at least those Books, which go abroad
under his name, be truly his :) and the *Comment. de Pa-
radise* of *Moses Bar-Cephas*, translated into Latin by *Ma-
sius* ; and perhaps some few other the like. I know very
well, that for the most part, Men trust to the Translations
of the Fathers; whether they be in Latin, or in the Vul-
gar Languages ; and that the World is now come to that
pass, that people will not stick to take upon them to
judge of the Greek Fathers, without having (at least, that
can be perceived out of their Writings,) any competent
knowledge of the Greek Tongue : which cannot in my
judgement, be accounted any thing lesse, then a point of
the highest boldness, and unadvisedness that can be. The
thing is clear enough of it self, that to be able to reach the
conceptions, and sense of a Man, especially in matters of
Importance, it is most necessary that we understand the
Language

Language he delivers himself in, his Terms, and the manner of their coherence; there being in every particular Language, a certain peculiar Force, and Power of Significancy, which can very hardly be so preserved in a Translation, but that it will lose in the passage something of its Natural Lustre, and Vigour, how knowing, able, and faithful soever the Interpreter be. But this, which is very useful indeed in all other cases, is most necessary in this particular business we have now in hand; by reason of the little care, and fidelity that we finde, in the Translations of the greatest part of the Interpreters of the Fathers, whether Ancient, or Modern. We have before seen, how *Ruffinus*, and even *S. Hierome* himself too, have laid about them, in this particular; and, long after them, *Anastasius* also, in his Translation of the VII Council; who notwithstanding, in his Preface to the VIII, gives us this for a most Infallible Rule; namely, that whatsoever is found in his Translation, is True, and Legitimate; and on the contrary, whatsoever the Greeks have said, either more, or lesse, is supposititious, and forged. If all the other Interpreters of the Councils, and Fathers, had been Men of the same Temper, that *Anastasius* here would have us believe Him to have been of; we might then indeed very well lay by the *Greek* Text, and content our selves with such dull *Latin*, as he hath furnished us with in his Translation. But the mischief of it is, that all the World doth not believe this Testimony, which he hath given of himself; and that, although he hath such a special gift in valuing his own Translation above the Original; yet this wil hardly ever be allowed to the rest of Translators, especially the Modern; who having been Men that have been for the most part carried away with their affection to their own Party, he must needs be a very weak Man, that should trust to them in this case, and relye upon what they say. Whosoever hath yet a minde to be further satisfied, how far these Mens Translations are to be trusted, let him but take the pains to compare the *Greek* Preface

to *Origen's* Books against *Celsus*, with the Latine Translation of *Christophorus Persona*; and, if he please, he may do well to run over some part of the Books themselves: and if he hath a minde to sacrifice himself to the Laughter of the Protestants, let him but produce them, upon the honest word of this trusty Trucheman, this passage out of the Fifth Book, for the Invocation of Angels; *We ought*

Origen, Christoph. Persona, lib. 5. contr. Celsum. Vota namque & preces omnes, & gratiarum insuper actiones ad Deum, sunt per Angelum transmittenda, qui per Pontificem, & vivens verbum, & Deum, Angelis præfectus est cæteris.

Orig. contr. Cels. l. 5. p. 239. πάντων μὲν γὰρ δέουσιν, καὶ πάντων προσεσυχῶν, καὶ ἐνταύθιν καὶ ἀχαιρίαν ἀναπεμπτόν τῷ ὅτι πάνσι θεῷ, διὰ τῶ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγγέλων ἀρχιερέως, ἐμψύχε λόγος, καὶ θεός.

to send up our Vowes, and all our Prayers, and Thanksgivings to God, by the Angel, who hath been set over the rest, by him who is the Bishop, the Living Word, and God: In which words he seems to intimate, that Jesus Christ hath appointed some one of the Angels to hear our Prayers; and, that by him we ought to present them to God: Whereas Origen sayes the clean contrary; namely, That we ought to send up to God, who is above all things, every of our demands, prayers, and requests, by the great High-Priest, the Living Word, and God, who is above all the Angels. You have a sufficient discovery also of the Affections of Translators, who many times make their Authors speak more then they meant, in 70. Christophorus's Transla-

tion of the Ecclesiastical Historians: as likewise in most of the Translators of these Later Times; excepting onely some very few of the more moderate sort. But we shall not need to insist any longer on this particular, which hath been sufficiently proved already, by the several Parties of both sides, discovering the falseness of their Adversaries Translations; as every Man must needs know, that is any whit conversant in these kinde of writings; where you shall meet with nothing more frequent, then these mutual reprehensions of each other. Now in the midst of such distraction, and contrariety of judgements, how can a Man possibly assure himself, that he hath the true sense and meaning of the Fathers, unless he hear them speak in their own language, and have it from their own mouth?

I shall here lay down then for a most sure Ground, and undeniable Maxime; that, to be able rightly to apprehend the judgement, and sense of the Fathers, it is necessary that we first understand the language they write in; and that too, not slightly, and superficially; but exactly, and fully: there being in all Languages certain peculiar Terms, and Idioms, familiarly used by the Learned, which no Man shall ever be able to understand throughly, and clearly, that hath but a superficial knowledge of the said Languages, and hath not dived even to the depth, and very bottom of them. If you would see, how necessary the knowledge of an Authors Language is, and how prejudicial the want of it; do but turn to that Passage of *Theodoret*, where speaking of the Eucharist, he saith *Theod. Dial. 2.*

thus; Ὁυδὲ γὰρ μὲν τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἔξισται φύσεως· μένδ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας ἐσίας, καὶ τῶ χήματι καὶ τῶ εἶδους. The Protestants, and all their Adversaries (before Cardinal Perron,) interpret this place thus, *The Mystical Symboles, after consecration, do not leave their proper Nature: for they continue in their first Substance, Figure, and Form.* Now what can be said more expressly against *Transubstantiation*? But yet the above named Cardinal, having it seems consulted those old Friends of his among the Grammarians, who had heretofore taught him, that *μυαίνω* signified, to smook, or evaporate, will needs perswade us, that this passage is to be interpreted otherwise; namely, that *The signes in the Eucharist continue in the figure, and form of their first substance: which* *Perron Repl. p. 709. Answ. to the 2. Instit. where he takes this word to signifie, To fume; where-as the true signification is, To pollute, or defile.* would be, Tacitely, and Indirectly to allow *Transubstantiation*. Now it is true, that this Exposition is contrary, not onely to the Designe, and purpose of the Author, but to the usual way of speaking also among the Greeks. But, in case you had not exact skill in the Language, how should you be able to judge of this Interpretation? especially seeing it put upon you with so much confidence, and unparallel'd boldness; according to the ordinary custom of this Doctor, who never affirms, or recommends

commends any thing to us more confidently, then when it is most doubtful, and uncertain. It is out of the same rare, and unheard of Grammar, that the said Cardinal hath elsewhere taken upon him to give us that notable Correction of his, of the Inscription of an Epistle written by the Emperour *Constantine*, to *Miltiades*, Bishop

Euseb. l. 10. c. 5. Hist. Eccl.
 Κωνσταντίνῳ Σεβαστῷ
 Μιλτιάδῃ ἐπισκόπῳ Ρώ-
 μαίων, καὶ Μάρκῳ. Per-
 ron in his Repl. saith we
 ought to reade it thus: Κων-
 σταντίνῳ Σεβαστοῦ Μιλ-
 τιάδῃ ἐπισκόπῳ Ρώ-
 μαίων καὶ Μάρκῳ.
 But it seems more probable,
 that we should reade, καὶ
 Μερκελῇ, and to Mero-
 cles, who was at that time
 Bishop of Millane, as is ob-
 served by Optatus, lib. 1.
 pag. 334.

of Rome, set down in the Tenth Book of *Euse-
 bins* his Ecclesiastical History, reading it thus :
Constantinus Augustus, to *Miltiades*, Bishop of
 the Romans (witheth long time,) or long oppor-
 tunity :) whereas all Copies, both Manuscript,
 and Printed, have it; *Constantinus Augustus*,
 to *Miltiades*, Bishop of the Romans, and to
Mark: fearing, I suppose, lest some might ac-
 cuse the Emperour of not understanding him-
 self aright, in making this *Mark* here Compa-
 nion to the Pope, who in all things ought to
 march without a Copesmate. I should never
 have done, if I should but go about to set down
 all those other passages, in which he hath used

the same Arts, in wresting the words of the Ancients to a
 wrong sense, which otherwise would seem to make for
 the Protestants: whence it may plainly appear, how ne-
 cessary the knowledge of the Languages is, for the right
 understanding of the sense of the Fathers. So that in my
 judgement, the Result of all this will clearly be, that as
 we have before said, it is a difficult thing, to come to the
 right understanding of them. For, who knows not, what
 pains it will cost a Man to attain to a perfect knowledge
 of these two Tongues? What Parts are necessarily requi-
 red in this case? A happy Memory, a lively Conceit,
 good bringing up, continual pains-taking, much, and di-
 ligent reading, and the like; all which things do very
 rarely meet in any one person. But yet the truth of this
 Assertion of ours is clearly proved also, by the continual
 Debates, and Disputes of those, who though they have
 referred the judgement of their Differences to the Deci-

sion of the Fathers, do yet notwithstanding still implead each other at their Bar, and cannot possibly be brought to any agreement at all. Many of the Writers of the Church of Rome object against the *Protestants*, as an Argument of the obscurity of the Scriptures, the Controversies that are betwixt themselves and the *Lutherans*, against the *Calvinists*, touching the Eucharist; and of the *Calvinists* against the *Lutherans*, and the *Arminians*, in the Point of Predestination. If this Argument of theirs be of any force at all, who sees not that it clearly proves that which we maintain in this particular? For, the Greeks, and the Latins, who both of them make profession of submitting themselves to the Authority of the Fathers, and to plead all their Causes before them, have not as yet been able to come to any Agreement. Do but observe the passages betwixt these two, at the Council of *Florence*, where the strongest and ablest Champions on both sides were brought into the Lists; how they wrangled out whole Sessions, about the Exposition of a certain short Passage in the Council at *Ephesus*; and some other the like out of *Epiphanius* †, s. *Basil**, and others: and how, after all their Disputes, how clearly, and powerfully soever each Party made their vaunts the business was carried on their side, they have yet left us the sense of the Fathers much more dark, and obscure, then it was before; their Contestations having but rendred the business much more perplexed; each side having indeed very much appearance of Reason, in what they urge against their Adversaries; but very little solidity, in what they have said severally for themselves. Certainly the Latins, who are thought to have had the better Cause of the two; and who, upon a certain Passage of *S. Basil* alledged by themselves, triumphed as if they had got the day, baffling and affronting the Greeks in a very disdainful manner, and giving them very harsh language also, used notwithstanding such an odde kinde of Logick to persuade the receiving of the Exposition which they gave,

Concil. Flor.
Sess. 5. de Decreto quodam
Concil. Eph.
Act. 6. Sess. 11.
§ 12.
† *Conc. Flor.*
Sess. 18. 20. § 21.
* *Conc. Flor.*
Sess. 21.

Ibid. locus Basil. Οὐ λαμβάνομεν ἵνα παρὰ τὸ πνῶμα ματθ., ὅτι παρὰ τὸ ἡε τὸ πνῶμα.

*Basil. in Orat.
in Sac. Baptif.
p. 511. Tom. I.
Edit. Paris. a-
pud Michael.
Sonnium anno
1618.*

*Tertul. contr.
Marc. l. 4. c. 40.
Acceptum
panem, & di-
tributum dis-
cipulis, cor-
pus suum il-
lum fecit, Hoc
est Corp^o me-
um, dicendo,
id est, Figura
Corporis mei.
Aug. cont. Adi-
mant. c. 12 Non
enim Domin^o
dubitavit di-
cere, Hoc est
corp^o meum,
cum signum
daret corpo-
ris sui.*

as that even at this day, in the last Edition of *S. Basils* Works, printed at *Paris*; and revised by *Fronto Ducaens*; the Latin Translation follows, in this particular, not their Exposition, but that of the Greek Schismaticks. And some of the Protestants having also had the same success in some particular Points controverted betwixt themselves, it lies open to every Mans observation, how much obscurity there is found in the Passages cited by both sides. If *Tertullian* was of the opinion of the Church of Rome, in the Point concerning the Eucharist, what could he have uttered more dark, and obscure, then this passage is of his, in his Fourth Book against *Marcion*: *Christ having taken Bread, and distributed it to his Disciples, made it his Body, in saying; This is my Body; that is to say, The Figure of my Body?* If *S. Augustine* held *Transubstantiation*, what can the meaning be of these words of his: *The Lord stuck not to say, This is my Body, when he delivered onely the signe of his Body?* If these Passages, and an infinite number of the like, do really, and truly mean, that which Cardinal *Perron* pretends they do; then was there never any thing of Obscurity either in the Riddles of the Theban *Sphinx*, or in the Oracles of the *Sibyls*. If you look on the other side, you shall meet with some other Passages in the Fathers, which seem to speak point blank against the Protestants; as for example, where they say expressly, *That the Bread changeth its nature; and, That, by the Almighty power of God, it becomes the Flesh of the Word*: and the like. And so in all the Controversies betwixt them, they produce such Passages as these, both on the one side, and on the other: some whereof seem to be irreconcilable to the sense of the Church of *Rome*, and some other, to the sense of their Adversaries. If Cardinal *Perron*, and those other sublime Wits of both Parties, can have the confidence to affirm, that they finde no difficulty at all in these particulars; we must needs think, that either they speak this but out of a Bravado, setting a good face upon a bad matter; or else, that both the

Wits,

Wits, and Eye-sight of all the rest of the World are marvellous dull, and feeble, in finding nothing but Darknes there, where these Men see nothing but Light. But yet for all this, if there be not obscurity in these Writings of the Fathers, and that very much too; how comes it to pass that even these very Men finde themselves ever and anon so tormented to finde out the meaning of them? How comes it to pass, that they are fain to use so many words, and make tryal of so many tricks, and devices for the clearing of them? Whence proceeds it, that so often, for fear of not being able to satisfie their Readers, they are forced to cry down either the Authors, or the Pieces, out of which their Adversaries produce their Testimonies? What strange Sentences, and Passages of Authors are those, that require more time, and trouble in the clearing Them, then in deciding the Controversie it self; and which multiply Differences, rather then determine them; oftentimes serving as a Covert, and retreating-place to both Parties? The sense, and meaning of these words is debated; *This is my Body*. For the explaining of them, there is brought this Passage, out of *Tertullian*; and that other, out of *S. Augustine*. Now I would have any Man speak in his conscience, what he thinks; whether or not these words are not as clear, or clearer, then those Passages which they alleage out of these Fathers, as they are explained by the different Parties. I desire, Reader, no other judge then thy self, whosoever thou art; onely provided, that thou wilt but vouchsafe to reade, and examine that which is now said upon these places, and withall consider the strange Turnings and Windings-about, that they make us take, to bring us to the right sense and meaning of them. In a word, if the most able Men that are, did not finde themselves extreamly puzzled, and perplexed, in distinguishing the Legitimate Writings of the Fathers from the Spurious; it is not likely, that the *Censors* of the *Low-Countries*, who are all choice, pickt Men, should be forced to shew us so ill

Ind. Exp Belg.
in Bertr. Pluri-
 mos in Catho-
 licis veteribus
 errores exco-
 gitato com-
 mento persæ-
 pè negamus,
 & commodum
 iis sensum af-
 fingimus, dum
 opponuntur
 in disputati-
 onibus, aut in
 conflictibus
 cum adversa-
 rijs.

an Example of finding a way to help our selves, when the Authority of the Ancients is strongly pressed against us by our Adversaries, as they do, in excusing the expressions of the Fathers sometimes, by some handsomely-contrived invention, and in putting some convenient probable sense upon them. That which hath been said, I am confident is sufficient to convince any Reasonable Man of the Truth of this Assertion of ours; namely, that it is a very hard matter, to understand the sense, and opinions of the Fathers, by their Books. But, that we may leave no doubt behinde us, let us briefly consider some few of the principal Causes of this Difficulty. Certainly the Fathers, having been Wise Men, all of them both spoke, and wrote, to be understood; insomuch that, having both the will, and the ability to do it, it seemeth very strange, that they should not be able to attain to the end they aimed at. But we must here call to minde, what we have said before; namely, that these Controversies of ours being not in their time yet sprung up; they had no occasion, neither was it any of their designe, either to speak, or write any thing of them. For these Sages stirred up as few doubts, in matters of Religion, as they could: Besides that their times furnished them with sufficient matter of Disputes, in Points which were then in agitation; without so much as thinking of Ours, now on foot. And they have very clearly delivered their sense, in all those controversies, which they have handled. Even *Tertullian* himself, who is the most obscure amongst them all, hath notwithstanding delivered himself so clearly, in the debates betwixt him an *Marcion*, and others, that there is no place left for a Man to doubt, what his opinions were, in the Points debated of. I am therefore fully perswaded, that if they had lived in these times, or that the present Controversies had been agitated in their times, they would have delivered their judgement upon them very plainly, and expressly. But seeing they have not touched upon them, but onely by the By; and as they came accidentally

into

into their way, rather than upon any set purpose; we are not to think it strange, if we finde them not to have spoken out, and given their sense clearly, as to these Debates of ours. For as any Man may easily observe in the ordinary course of things, those things that happen without designe, are never clear, and full, but ambiguous, & doubtful; and oftentimes also contrary perhaps, either to the sense, or the affection of the person from whom they proceeded. Thus before the springing up of that pernicious doctrine of *Arius*, who so much troubled the Ancient Church; there was very little said, of the Eternity of the Divine Nature of *Jesus Christ*: or if the Fathers said any thing at all of it, it was onely in passage, and by the By, and not by designe: and hence it is also, that what they have delivered in this particular, is as obscure, and hard to be rightly understood, as those other Passages of theirs, that relate to our present Controversies. Do but explain the meaning a little, if you can, of this passage of *Justin Martyr*, in his Treatise against *Tryphon*; where he saith,

that, † *The God which appeared to Moses, and to the Patriarchs, was the Son, and not the Father*: for as much as the Father is not capable of Local Motion, neither can properly be said to ascend, or descend: and, that * *No Man ever saw the Father, but only heard his Son, and his Angel; who is also God, by the Will of the Father*. Which words of his cannot be very well explained, without allowing a difference of Nature, in the Father and the Son; which were to establish *Arianisme*. Do but observe, what *Tertullian* also sayes, in this particular; namely, † *That the Father, bringing him forth out of himself, made his Son*: and, * *That the Father is the Whole Substance, and the Son, a Portion, and a Derivation of that Whole*: and many other the like Passages, which you meet with here and there in that excellent Piece of his, written against

† *Just. contr. Tryph. p. 283. & 356. Edit. Paris. 1615.*

* *Ibid. p. 357. ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἄβραάμ, ἡ γὰρ ἰσαὰκ, ἡ γὰρ ἰακώβ, ἡ γὰρ ἄλλοι ἀνθρώπων οἱ δὲ τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀρρήτων κρείον τῶν πάντων ἀπλῶς, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ κρείον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνον, καὶ ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τὸν ὄντα, ἡ δὲ αὐτὸς, καὶ ἄγγελον, ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου τῆς γνώμης αὐτοῦ, &c.*

† *Tertul lib. 2. contr. Marc. c. 27. Quem ex semetipso proferendo, Filium fecit.*

* *Id. l. cont. Prax. cap. 9. & passim in eo opere. Pater tota Substantia est, Filius verò derivatio totius, & portio.*

Praxeas,

† *Dion. Alex.* *Praxeas*, which will hardly be reconciled to any good construction. In like manner doth *Dionysius Alexandrinus* call the Son, † *The Work, or Workmanship of the Father*: which are the very Terms that were so much quarrelled at in *Arius*. And the LXXX Fathers, who condemned *Paulus Samosatenus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, said expressly, *That the Son is not of the same essence with the Father*: that is to say, they in express Terms denied the *ὁμοούσιον*, or *Consubstantiality* of the Son, which was afterwards established in the Council of *Nice*. It were no very hard matter to make good this Observation, in reference to all the other Disputes that have arisen in the Church, against *Macedonius*, *Pelagius*, *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, and the *Monothelites*; to wit, that the Fathers have spoken very obscurely of these matters, before the Controversies were started; as persons that spoke accidentally onely thereof, and not of set purpose. It is now a good while since, that

† *Hier. Apol. 2. contr. Ruff.* *Vel certe antequam in Alexandria quasi Dæmonium meridianum Arius nasceretur, innocenter quædam, & minus cantè locuti sunt, & quæ non possint perversorum hominum calumniam declinare.*

† *Ferron. Repl. Obs. 4. c. 5.*

* *Dion. Petau. in Panar. Epiph. ad Har. 69. quæ est Arrian.* Quod idem plerisque veterum Patrum, cum in hoc negotio, (Trinitatis,) tum in aliis fidei Christianæ capitibus, usu venit, ut ante errorū atq; hæresewn quibus ea sigillatim oppugnabantur, originem, nondū satis illustrata & patefacta rei veritate, quædam scriptis suis asperferint, quæ cum Orthodoxæ fidei regulæ minimè consentiant.

S. Hierome said, *That before that Arius, that Impudent Devil, appeared in the world, the Fathers had delivered many things Innocently, and without taking so much heed to their words, as they might have done; & indeed some things, that can hardly escape the Cavils of wrangling spirits.* And this hath also been observed by some of the most learned among the Moderns; as namely, Cardinal † *Perron*, and the Jesuite * *Petavius*, a Man highly esteemed by those of his own Party; who writing upon *Epiphanius*, and endeavouring to clear *Lucian* the Martyr from the suspicion of being an *Arrian*, and a *Samosatenian*, saith, * *That in this Question touching the Trinity, as also in divers others, it hath so fallen out, that most of the Ancient Fathers, who wrote before the springing up of those particular Heresies in the Church, have in their Writings let fall here and there such things, as are not very consonant to the*

Rule

Rule of the Orthodox Faith. Since therefore they have done thus in other Points ; what marvel is it if they have likewise done the same in these particular Controversies at this day debated amongst us ? and that, having lived so long before that the greatest part of these controversies were started, they have spoken to them so obscurely, doubtfully, and confusedly. For my part I think, it would have been the greater wonder of the two, if they had done otherwise ; and shall account it as a very great signe of Forgery, in any Piece which is attributed to Antiquity, when ever I finde it treating expressely, and clearly of these Points, and as they are now adayes discoursed of. Do but compare the expressions of the most Ancient Fathers, touching the Divinity, and Eternity of the Son of God, with their expressions touching the Nature of the Eucharist ; and certainly you will finde, that the one are not more wide of the Truth at this day professed, touching this last Point ; then the other were from the Doctrine long since declared in the Council of *Nice*. The Council of *Nice* expressely, and positively declared, *That the Son is Consubstantial with the Father* : the Council of *Antioch* had before denied this. Whether the Fathers therefore affirm, or deny, that the Eucharist is really the Body of Christ ; they will not however therein contradict thy opinion, whosoever thou art, whether Romanist, or Protestant, any more, then the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch* seem to have contradicted those of the Council of *Nice*. We may adde hereto, that as the *Arians* ought not in reason to have alledged, in justification of their opinion, any such Passages of the Ancient Fathers, as had innocently, in passage onely, and in discoursing on other subjects, without any thought of this opinion of theirs, fallen from them ; so neither to say truth, is there any reason, that either Thou, or I, should produce, as Definitive Sentences upon our present controversies, which have been started but of late years, any such Passages of the Fathers as were written by them, in treating
of

*Athian. ep. de
fid. Dionys. A-
lex. & ep. de
Syn. Arim. &
Seleuc. ubi su-
pra.*

of other matters, many Ages before the breaking forth of our Differences, whereof they never had the least thought; and concerning which they have consequently delivered themselves very diversly, and obscurely, and sometimes also seemingly contradicting themselves. And as we finde, that some of the Faithful Christians, who lived after these Primitive Fathers, have endeavoured to reconcile their sayings to the Truth which they professed; as *Athanasius* hath done in some Passages of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, and of the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch*; in like manner ought we to use our utmost endeavour to make a handsome interpretation of all such passages in the Writings of these Men, and the like, as seem to clash with the true Orthodox Belief, touching the Eucharist, and the like other Points: and withal not accounting it any great wonder, if we sometimes chance to meet with Passages, which seem to be utterly inexplicable. For it may so fall out, that they may be really so; seeing it is very possible, that in the Points touching the *Person*, and the *Natures* of the Son of God, some such expressions may have fallen from them; as is very well known to those, who are versed in their Writings. Possibly also we may meet with some Passages of theirs, which though they may be explicable in themselves, may notwithstanding appear to us to be Indissoluble; by reason perhaps of our wanting some one of those Circumstances, which are necessarily requisite for the enlightning, and clearing the same: as for example, when we are ignorant of the scope and drift of the Author, and of the Connexion and Dependencies of his Discourse, and other the like particulars, which are requisite for the penetrating into the sense of all sorts of Writers. For it is with Mens words, as it is with Pieces of Picture: they must have their proper Light, to shew themselves according to the meaning and intention of the Author: and according to the difference of the Lights we see them by, they also have a different appearance. As for example, if any one

* should

should now urge, alone, and barely, without reference to the rest of the Discourse, and history of its Author, this short passage of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, where he calls the Son of God, *ποίημα τῆς Θεῆς*. The Workmanship, or Manufacture of the Father; and adds certain other very strange Terms also touching this particular; (as we daily see, the custome of some is, in the business of our present Controversies, to produce the like shreds, and little short Passages, severed from the main Body of the Discourse whereof they are a part;) which of us, how able so ever he be, could possibly imagine any thing else, but that this is an absolute Ar-

rian expression, and such as cannot be interpreted to any other sense? And yet *Athanasius*, in the places before cited, makes it plainly appear that it is not so; and by the advantage of those through Lights which he had in the Subject there treated of by the Author, he demonstrates unto us, that this expression of *Dionysius*, how strange soever it appear, hath notwithstanding a good, and allowable sense in that place. And that we may be able more fully to apprehend the truth of this our Assertion, we shall in the next place take into consideration some other causes of the obscurity of the Fathers: among which I shall rank in the first place, their having sometimes purposely, and upon Designe, endeavoured either wholly to conceal their Conceptions from us; or at least to lay them down, not naked, and open, but as it were with a Curtain (and that sometimes a very thick one too) drawn over them; to the end that none but those of the quickest, and most piercing eyes should be able to penetrate into them: some of their Meditations having been such, as they themselves accounted either lesse useful, or else perhaps such as it was not so safe to commit to weak, vulgar spirits. Whether this practise of theirs were raised upon good grounds, or not, I shall not here stand to examine: it is sufficient for me to shew, that it was usual with them; as may appear,

ποίημα καὶ κρητὸν εἶναι
τὸν υἱὸν τῆς Θεῆς, μήτε δὲ
φύσει ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ ἕνεκα
κατ' ἐξῆς εἶναι τῆς πα-
τρὸς, ὥστε ὅτιν ὁ μαρ-
τὸς πρὸς τὴν ἀμπελον,
καὶ ὡς ὁ ναυπηγὸς πρὸς
τὸ σκάφος. καὶ γὰρ ὡς
ποίημα ὄν, ἐκ τῆς πειν
κρηται.

among

Clem. Alex. Strom. i. Τα μὲν ἑκὼν παραπέμπομαι, ἐκλέγων ἐπισημῶνως, φοβόμενος ὁ γράφειν, ἀ καὶ λέγειν ἐφυλαξάμην. ὃ πᾶσι φοβησάντων, ὃ γὰρ δέμης. δεδιώς δὲ ἀρα πρὸς τῶν ἐστυγχανόντων, μή τι ἑτέρως οφθαλμῶν, καὶ παιδὶ μάχαιραν, ἢ φασιν οἱ παροιμιαζόμενοι, ὁρῶντες ἀρεδῶμεν, δε. ἐπὶ δὲ ἃ καὶ ἀνιέξεται μοι γραφῇ, καὶ τοῖς μὲν παραστήσεται, τὰ δὲ μὲν ὁρῶντες.

Cassand. in Liturg. c. 26.

Casaub. in Ba-son. exercit. 16.

among the rest, out of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, about the beginning of his *Stromateis*, where giving an account of the Designe of his Book, he saith that, *He had passed over some things in silence; fearing to write that, which he made some scruple even to speak of: not that he envied his Readers any thing, but fearing rather lest they might happily, out of a misunderstanding of them, fall into error; and so he might seem to have put a Sword into the hand of a Childe.* He adds further, *That he had handled somethings clearly, and some other obscurely; laying the one open to our view, but wrapping up the other in Riddles.* But that which makes most to our present purpose, is, that they are known to have taken this course particularly in some certain of those Points which are now controverted amongst us; as namely, in that touching the *Sacraments* of the Church. For as they celebrated their holy Mysteries in secret, and apart by themselves, not admitting either the Pagans, or the *Catechumeni*, nor yet (as some assure us) any person whatsoever, save onely the Communicants, to the sight of them; in like manner also in their Writings, especially in those that were to be read openly to the people in their publick Assemblies, they never spake but very obscurely, and darkly; as hath been observed, in Point of the Eucharist, by Cardinal *Perron*, and by *Casaubon*, *Petavius*, and others, in the Points of *Baptism*, *Confirmation*, and other holy Ceremonies of the Christians. Do but observe, how wary *Theodoret*, *Epi-phanius*, and other of the Ancient Writers are, in naming the Matter of the Eucharist; describing it in general terms onely, and such as they onely could understand, who had bin formerly partakers of that holy Sacrament. I shall not here take upon me to examine the end which they proposed to themselves in so doing; which seems to have been, to beget in the mindes of the *Catechumeni* a greater reverence, and esteem of the Sacraments, and withal a more

more earnest and eager desire to be admitted to partake of them : fearing, least happily the laying open , and discouraging plainly of the matter, and manner of celebration of the Sacraments might something take off from one of these two affections in them. Seeing therefore that not onely in this , but in divers other particulars also, they have purposely, and upon designe concealed their sense, and opinions from us ; we ought not to account it so strange a matter, if we many times finde their expressions to be obscure, (and which is a consequence of obscurity,) if they sometimes also seem to clash, and contradict one another. And indeed it were more to be wondered at, if these Men, who were for the most part able, learned Men, having a purpose of writing obscurely on these Points, should yet have left us their opinions clearly, and plainly delivered in their Writings. But there is more in it yet, then so : for sometimes also, even where they had no purpose of being so, they yet are very obscure : and sometimes again the little conversation they have had with those Arts, which are requisite for the polishing of Language, was the cause of their not expressing themselves so clearly : and sometimes perhaps their *Genius*, and natural Disposition might be the reason hereof ; all their study, and industry they could take, not being able to correct this natural defect in them. I believe we may very safely reckon *Epiphanius* in the first ranke of these kinde of Writers ; who was indeed a good, and holy Man, but yet had been very little conversant in the Arts, either of Rhetorick, or Grammar, as appeareth sufficiently out of his writings ; where you shall often finde him failing, not onely in the clearness of his Expressions, and the course, and fit contrivance of his Periods, but also even in the Order and Method, which is the true Light of all Discourse : which defects must necessarily be the cause of much obscurity in very many places ; as indeed is much complained of by the Interpreters of this Father. Others perhaps there have been, who have endeavoured to po-

lish their Language by Arts, who yet have not been able to compass their desire; whether it were, because they began too late; or else perhaps through the dulness of their wit, and want of capacity; as we see, all Natures are not capable of receiving all Forms, what pains and industry soever they take, for the making such Impressions. In this number you may reckon that *Victorinus*, of whom *S. Hierome* gives this so favourable Testimony,

Hier. ep. 84. ad Magn. Victorino Martyri in libris suis licet defit eruditio, tamen non defest eruditio- nis voluntas.

** In Apol. 1. in Ruff. & Apol. 2. & Apol. ad Ruff.*

saying, that, *Though indeed he wanted Learning, he wanted not a desire and good will to Learning.* Such another also was *Ruffinus*, whose Language and expressions the same great *Censor* of the Ancients so sharply reproveth, noting in him very many Improprieties of speech, and other absurdities: *and yet for all this he would not be taken off from his scribbling humour; and which is more, he did not want those who admired him too: it being commonly observed, that those who wrote most in any Age were not alwayes the ablest Men; this Itch reigning rather in the Ignorant, then in the other. *Photius* in his *Bibliotheca* hath noted the like defects, in some of his Greek Writers. But yet this obscurity in the Fathers hath proceeded, not frõ their Ignorance, but rather frõ their great Learning. For, those among them, who were furnished with all manner of Secular Learning, and had been trained up from their Infancy in the Eloquence, and Knowledge of the Greeks, could not but retain this Tincture, and sometimes also had their flyings out; and made shew of this their Treasury; by this means mixing with the Christian Philosophy many exotick words, customes, and discourses: which Mixture, though it give indeed much delight to the Learned, yet it must necessarily render the sense of these Authors the more dark, and perplexed. What can you name me more mixed, or fuller of variety, then *Clemens Alexandrinus* his *Stromata*, as he cals them, and his other Works; which are throughout interlaced with Historical Allusions, Opinions, Sentences, and Proverbs, out of all sorts of Writers, both Sacred, and Profane; being

ing here heightened with rich, lightsome Colours, there shaded with darknes; in such sort, as that it is a vain thing for an ignorant person to hope ever to reach his meaning? What shall I say of *Tertullian*, who, besides that natural harshness, & roughness, which you meet with in him throughout; and that *Carthaginian* spirit, and *Genius*, which is common to him with the rest of the *African* Writers, hath yet shadowed, and overcast his conceptions with so much learning, and with so many new Terms, & Passages out of the *Law*, and with such variety of Allusions, Subtilties, and nice Points, as that the greatest stock both of Learning & Attention that you can bring with you, will be all little enough to fit you for a perfect understanding of him. I shall not here speak any thing of *S. Hilary*, and the loftiness of his Fancy, and the height of his Language, and that *Cothurnus Gallicanus* which *s. Hierome* hath noted in Him, and some other of his Countrey-men. Neither shall I here take any notice of the Copiousness of the *Africans*, nor of the subtilty of the *Athenians*, & of those that had their Education among them; the consideration of all which Particulars would afford matter for a just Tract. I shall onely say in general, that whereas the manner of the Christians Writing, and Expounding the Scriptures was at first very plain, easie, and brief; it in a very short time came to be changed, and to be clogd with Subtilties, and Flourishes of Secular Learning; as *Methodius* in *Epiphanius* testifieth. * *The Do-*

ctors (saith he) *no longer regarding an honest, plain, and solid way of teaching, began now to endeavour to please, and to be favourably received by their Auditors; just as Sophisters are wont to do; who reckon their labours rewarded, by their Auditors applauding their Learning; selling themselves at this so cheap a rate. For as for the Ancients, their Expositions were alwayes very brief; their*

Method. apud Epiph. Hær. 64. Τῶν διδασκάλων ἔτε πρὸς τὸ ἐέλπιδον ἀμυλλωμένων ἔτι καὶ σεμνόν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀρέσαι καὶ ἀνιμερῆσαι· καὶ δὲ πρὸς οἱ σοφισταί, οἱ μὲν αἰρουῦνται τῶν λόγων ἐπευωνιζόμενοι τῆς σοφίας ἐπαίνοισι. Τὸ μὲν οὖν παλαιὸν βραχὺ παντελῶς τὸ φεῖ τῷ ἐξηγήσειν ὡς φιλοτιμωμένων μὴ τέρεπν, ἀλλὰ ὠφελεῖν τὸ πᾶν ὅντας τῶν τότε.

utmost ambition in those dayes being, not to please, but, to profit their Hearers. Gregory Nazianzen also very sadly, and eloquently, as his manner is, complains of this. † There

† Greg. Naz. Enc. Athan. ὡς, ὅτε ἡμαρξεν τὰ ἡμέτερα, καὶ χαλῶς ἔχεν, ἡνίκα τὸ μὲν πειτλόν τῶτο καὶ κατεγλωττισμένον τῆς θεολογίας, καὶ ἔντεχνον, ἐδὲ πάροθεν εἶχεν εἰς τὰς δεῖας αὐλαῖς· ἀλλὰ ταῦτόν ὡς, ψήφοις τε παίζον ἢ ὀφιν, κλεψτέσαις τῶ τάχῃ τὸ μεταδέσσειν, ἢ κητορχεῖν τῶν θαλάσσιων παντοίοις καὶ ἀνδρῶσι τοῖς λογίσμασι, καὶ οὐδὲ λέγειν πῆ, καὶ ἀκρίβειαν καὶ οὐδέ τι. Τὸ δὲ ἀπλοῦν τε καὶ ἀγενὲς τῶ λόγῳ· ἀσέβεια ἐνομιζέτο. Ἀφ' ἧς δὲ Σέξτοι, καὶ Πύρρωνες, καὶ ἡ ἀντίθετος γλῶσσα, ὥσπερ τὸ νόημα δόνον καὶ κακόνδεσταις ἐκκλησίαις ἡμῶν εἰσφοδάρη, καὶ ἡ φλυαρία παίδευσις ἐδόξε, καὶ ὁ φησι οὐδὲ ἀδελφῶν ἢ ἐξ ἑλθόντων παρὰ τῶν, εἰ ἐδὲν ἄλλο ἀκακίαν, ἢ λέγειν πῆ ἢ ἀκρίβειαν καὶ οὐδέ τι. ὡς τῆς ἱερεμίας ἐδύρεται ἢ ἡμετέραν σύλχυσιν καὶ σκοτόμεναν, ὁ μόνος εἰδὼς ἔξισωσθαι ἡμῶν πάρεσιν.

† Hieron. ep. 50. ad Pammach. & passim ibid.

was a time (saith he) when our affairs flourished, and we were in a happy estate, when as this vain, and wanton kinde of Divinity, which is every where now in fashion, together with all its Artifices and Delicacies of Language, was not at all admitted into the Sheepfolds of the Lord. In those dayes to hearken after, or to vent any Novelties, or Curiosities in Divinity, was reckoned all one as to play the juggler, and to shew Tricks of Liegerdemain, with cunning and nimble shiftings of Balls under a Cup, deceiving the eyes of the spectators; or else by delighting them with the various, and effeminate Motions, and Windings of a lascivious Dance. On the contrary rather, a plain, masculine, and free way of Discourse was then accounted the most pious. But now, since that the Pyrrhonians, and those of Sextus his Faction, together with the Tongue of Contradiction, have, like some

grievous, Malignant Disease, broken in upon our Churches; since that Babbling is now allowed for Learning; & as it is said, in the Acts, of the Athenians, since we spend our time in nothing else, but in hearing, or telling some new thing; O for some Jeremy, to bewail the Confusion and Darknesse we lye under; who might furnish us, as that Prophet was onely able to do, with Lamentations suitable to our Calami-

† Hieron. ep. 50. ad Pammach. et passim. ibid.

ties! And certainly S. Hierome†, in his Epistle to Pammachius, hath as good as said, that even for His Writings also, it is necessary that the Reader be acquainted both with all the Sights of Logick, and all the Flourishes, and Heights of Rhetorick. Which censure of his reacheth also

also to the Writings of *Origen, Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, Tertullian, Cyprian, Minutius, Victorinus, Lactantius, Hilary*, and others; whom he affirmeth to have

Id. ibid.

all observed the same method in their Writings. Now although any Rational Man must needs willingly grant me, that the Translations of Terms, and Figures, either in the Word onely, or else in the Things themselves, and such other the like Ornaments of Rhetorick; as also the subtilties of Logick, and in a word, all the Artifices in what other sorts of Learning so ever there are, must necessarily render any Discourse the more obscure, and shaded; yet for the fuller clearing of this Point, I shall here adde some few Proofs, and Examples.

s. *Hierome* declareth himself on our side sufficiently, where he attributeth the cause of the Obscurity that is found in the Writings of some certain Authors, to their being too Learned, and Eloquent.

Hier. sup. Ep. 139. ad Cypr.

* *Sixtus Senensis* observeth, that the Fathers have uttered many things in the heat of their passion, which we are not to take in the strict, literal sense. And *Petavius* hath of late also noted, † *That the Fathers have let fall from them, up and down in their Homilies, very many things, which cannot be reconciled to any good sense, if we should examine them by the Exact Rule of Truth.* We both of us excuse this in them oftentimes thus, by shewing that under so Many Flowers and Leaves, wherewith they crown their Discourses, they many times couch a quite different sense, from that which their words in appearance seem to carry. Who hath not observed the strange Hyperboles of *S. Chrysostome, S. Hilary, S. Ambrose*, and the like?

* *Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. lib. 6. Annot. 152.*

† *Petav. Not: in Epiph. Multa sunt à Sanctissimis Patribus, præsertimque à Chrysostomo in Homiliis aspersa, quæ si ad exactæ veritatis regulam accommodare volueris, boni sensus inania videbuntur.*

But that I may make it plainly and evidently appear unto you, how much these Ornaments do darken the clearness of the sense of an Author, I shall onely here lay before you one Instance, taken from *S. Hierome*; who, writing to *Eustochium*, giveth her an account, how that for his being too much addicted to the study of Secular Learning, he was brought before the presence of our Lord, & was there really with stripes chastised for it. And think not

Hier. ep. 21. ad Eustoch.

(saith

Ibid. Nec verò sopor ille fuerat, aut vana somnia, quibus sæpè deludimur. Testis est Tribunal illud, ante quod jacui; testis iudicium triste quod timui. Ita mihi nunquam contingat in talem incidere quæstionem: Liventes fateor habuisse me scapulas, plagas sensisse post somnum, & tanto dehinc studio divina legisse, quanto non ante mortalia legeram.

† *Hier. Apol. adv. Ruffin.* Hæc dicerē, si quippiam vigilans promississem: Nunc autem, novū impudentiæ genus, objicit mihi somnium meum. *Ibid.* Audiat Prophetarum voces, somniis non esse credendū; quia nec adulterii somnium ducit me ad Tartarū, nec corona Martyrii in Cælum levat. *Ibid.* Tu à me somnii exigis sponzionem.

(saith he) that this was any of those drouse Fancies, or vain Dreams, which sometimes abuse us. I call to witnesse hereof that Tribunal, before which I then lay; and that sad judgement, which I was then in dread of. So may I never hereafter fall into the like danger, as this is true! I do assure you that I found my shoulders to be all over black and blew with the stripes I then received, and which I afterwards felt when I awaked. So that I have ever since had a greater affection to the reading of Divine Books, then I ever before had to the study of Humane Learning. Now

hearing him speak thus, who would not believe this to be a true story? and who would not be ready to understand this narration in the literal sense? And yet it appears plainly, from what he hath elsewhere confessed, that all this was but a meer Dream; and a Rhetorical piece of Artifice, frequently used by the Masters in this Art; contrived onely for the better, and more powerful diverting Men from their too great affection to the Books of the Heathens. For, *Ruffinus* picking a quarrel with him for this, and objecting against him, that contrary to the oath which he had before taken, he did notwithstanding still apply himself to the study of Pagan Learning: *S. Hierome*, after he had alleaged many things to quit himself from this accusation, † Thus you see (saith he) what I could have urged for myself, had I promised any such thing making: But now do but take notice of this new, & unheard of kinde of Impudence; He objects against me my very Dreams: and then presently doth he refer him to the words of the Prophets, saying: We must not take heed to Dreams; for neither doth an adulterous Dream cast a Man into Hell, nor that of Martyrdom bring him to Heaven: and so he at last plainly saies, that this Promise of his was made onely in a Dream; and that therefore consequently it carried no obligation with it. And who knows but that the Life of *Malchus*, which

he hath so delicately and artificially described unto us, and some other the like Pieces of His, and of some others, may be the like *Essaies of Wit*? We see he doth not stick to confess, that the life of *Paulus Eremita* was accounted for such, by some of his back-friends: * and it is very * *Hier.in vit. Hilarion.* probable that his 47 Epistle, which is so full of Learning and Eloquence, is but an Essay of the same nature; he having there fancied to himself a fit subject onely, whereon to shew his own Eloquence, as the usual manner of Orators is. Thus thou seest, Reader, how great darkness is cast over the Writings of the Ancients by these Figures, and Flourishes of Rhetorick, and other Artifices of Humane Learning, which they so often, and so over-licentious use, at least for our parts; who, to our great disadvantage, finde, that so many Ornaments, and Embelishments, do rather disguise and hide from us the bottom, and depth of their Conceptions. Who shall assure us, that they have not made use of the same Arts, in their Discourses touching the Eucharist; to advance the dignity of the Divine Mysteries, and to encrease the peoples devotion? as likewise touching the power of the Prelats; to procure them the greater respect & obedience from their People? What probability is there, that they would spare their Pensils, their Colours, their shadows, and their Lights, in those Points where this their Art might have been employed to so good purpose? And to this place I shall refer those other Customes of theirs, which are so frequent with them of denying, and affirming things as it were absolutely; notwithstanding the purpose and intent of their Discourse be to deny, or affirm them onely by way of comparison, and reference to some other things. Who could choose but think, that S. *Hierome* was tainted with the Heresie of *Marcion*, and of the *Encraties*, hearing him so fiercely inveigh against Marriage, as he doth in his Books against *Jovinian*; and oftentimes in other places also? in so much that there have sometimes fallen from him such words as these: *Seeing that in the use*
of

Hier. lib. I. adversus Jovin. Si corruptio ad omnem coitum pertinet, incorruptio autem propriè castitatis est; præmia pudicitiae nuptiae possidere non possunt.

Ibid. Existimo quòd qui uxorem habet, quandiu revertitur ad id ipsum ne tentet eum Satanas, in carne seminet, & non in Spiritu. Qui autem in carne seminat, (non ego, sed Apostolus loquitur,) metit corruptionem.

Id. ep. 50. ad Pammachium.

Concil. VII. A.D. 553. ἡμεῖς δὲ αὖτε ἡρώων ὑπολάνομεν παρρησίας, ἐχὼν τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ψυχῶν τὰς εἰκόνας ἔχοντες· τὰ γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν εἰρημένα τὰ ψυχῶν αὐτῶν εἰκόνες ὄντιν.

Ibid. ἔ γὰρ τοῖς πίναξι τὰ σαρκικά, ὡς ὅσω παρ' ἡρώων διὰ χρωμάτων ἐπιμελές ἡμῖν ἐκλυποῦν, (ὅπ' ἔχρηζομεν τέτων·) ἀλλὰ τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτῶν δι' ἀρετῆς ἐκμιμεῖσθαι.

of the Woman there is alwayes some Corruption; and that Incorruption properly belongeth to Chastity; Mariage (saith he) cannot be accounted of so high esteem, as Chastity. And a little after: My opinion is, that he that bath a Wife; till such time as he returneth to that passe, as that Satan tempts him not, (that is to say, so long as he makes use of her, as of a Wife,) he sowes in the Flesh, and not in the Spirit. Now he that soweth in the Flesh, (it is not I that say

it, but the Apostle,) the same shall reap Corruption. Now these words taken literally, condemn Mariage, and the use thereof, as defiling a Man, and depriving him of blessed Immortality. Yet notwithstanding in his Epistle to Pammachius he informeth us, that these Passages of his, and all other the like, are not to be understood as spoken Positively, and Absolutely; but onely by way of Comparison; that is, he would be understood to say, that the Purity, and Felicity of Virgins is such, as that in Comparison of it, that of the Mariage-Bed is not at all to be mentioned. This Key is very necessary, for the finding entrance into the sense of the Ancients: and the Fathers

of the VII Council made very good use of it, in giving the sense of two, or three Passages, that were objected against them by the Iconoclasts. The first was out of S. Chrysostome: Through the Scriptures we enjoy the presence of the Saints, having the Images, not of their Bodies, but of their Souls. For, the things there spoken by them, are the Images of their Souls. The second was out of Amphilochius: Our care is, not to draw in Colours on Tables the Natural Faces of the Saints; (for we have no need of any such thing;) but rather to imitate their Life, and Conversation by following the example of their vertue. The third was out of

of Asterius : Draw not the Portraiture of Christ on thy garments ; but rather bestow upon the Poor the price that these Expences would amount to. For as for Him, it is sufficient that He once humbled Himself, in taking upon Him our Flesh, Would not any Man, that hears these words, believe these three Fathers to have been *Iconoclasts* ? I confess, I cannot see, what almost could have been said more expressly against Images : and yet the second Council of Nice pretendeth , * that these Fathers here speak onely by way of Comparison ; meaning to say no more, then that the Images of *Jesus Christ* , and of the Saints, are much less profitable then the Reading their Books, or the imitation of their Lives, or then Charity toward the Poor. I know very well, that it is no very easie matter, handsomely to apply this Answer to the words of these Fathers : However we may make this use of it ; that seeing that the Council of *Nice* hath followed this Rule ; it is an evident Argument to us, that the sayings of the Fathers both may, and ought sometimes to be taken in a quite different sense from what they seem to bear : so that it will clearly follow from hence, that they are very hard to be understood. Consider then with your self, whether or no among the so many several Passages, as are brought on the one side, and on the other, touching the present Controversies, there may not be very many of them, which are to be understood, as hath formerly been said, by way of Comparison onely ; that is to say, quite contrary to what they seem to say. Now as the Rhetorick used by the Fathers hath rendred their Discourses made to the People full of Obscurity ; in like manner hath their Logick sown a thousand Thorns, and Difficulties, throughout their Polemical Writings. For many times, while they are in the heat of their Disputations, they have their minde so intent upon the present scope they drive at, as that having regard to nothing else, they let fall such expressions, as look very strangely, if they be considered

Ibid. μὴ γὰρ ἐν χεῖρὶ ἐν ἱματίοις, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἐν τῇ ἀναλωμάτων τέττων δαπανῶ πτωχοῖς προσπορίζω. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡ μὴ τῆς ἐνσωματώσεως ταπείνωσις.

Concil. VII. ubi supra.

in reference to some other Points of Christian Religion. Sometimes also, whilst they use their utmost endeavour to beat down one Errour, they seem to run into the contrary Error: in like manner as those who would streighten a crooked Plant, are wont to bow it as much the contrary way; that so having been worked out of its former bent, it may at length rest in a middle posture: which similitude † *Theodoret* also maketh use of, upon this very

† *Theod. Dial. 3. c. 30.* Ἡ σφόδρα πρὸς τοῦ ἀντιπάλες διαμαχή τῆ ἀμετρίας αἰτία· ταῦτ δὲ τῆσο καὶ τοῖς φυτηκόμοις φίλον ποιεῖν· ὅταν γὰρ ἴδωσι κακὸν φυτόν, καὶ μόνον πρὸς τὸν ὀρθὸν ἀνισῶσι κανόνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέρα τῆ ἀδείας εἰς τὸ ἕτερον ἀντικλίνουσι μέτρον, ἵνα τῇ ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ τοῦ ἀντίον ἐπικλίσῃ τῇ ἀδείᾳ πρὸς ματαλότητι εἰσίν. Sic et *Basi. de Dion. Alex. ep. 41.*

† *Athan. Ep. de fid. Dion. Alex.* ἔχ' ἀπλῶς, ὡς πῶς ἐκτέμνεται. Μοχ; καὶ εἴ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰληκτικὴν αὐτὸν ποιῶντα χάριτι. Μοχ; καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν δένδρων ἀλλοτε ἄλλως ἐπιμελεῖται, διὰ τὴν ὑποκειμένην τῇ γῆς ποιοτήτα· καὶ ἐὰν διὰ τὸ τοῦ μέρους αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν τέμνει, ἐκείνο δὲ ἐγκεντερίζει, &c. ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλλον μαθὼν τὴν αἰτίαν, θαυμάσει τὸ ποικίλον αὐτῆς τὸ ἐπισημνῆς.

* *Athan. Ibid.* Τὰ ὑποκείμενα κατ' οἰκονομίαν ἔχοντα.

† *Athan. Ibid.* καὶ εἴ δὲ καὶ

κατ' οἰκονομίαν χαρόμενα, καὶ γινόμενα ταῦτα κακοῦς ὁρῶντες, καὶ εἰς ἰδίαν ἑκάστην ἑκάστην ἐλάττω.

subject. And in this manner also did *Athanasius* explain those words of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, which were urged against him by the *Arrians*, as seeming to make very much for them, as we have touched before. He wrote not this, († *Athanasius* answereth,) Positively, and with a purpose of giving an account of his Belief in these Words; but as being led on to utter them, by the occasion, and the persons he discoursed with. In like manner (saith he) as a Gardiner ordereth the same Trees in a different manner, according to the difference of the soil where they are, Neither may any one blame him, for lopping off some, and grafting others; for planting this, and plucking up that by the roots. On the contrary rather, who ever knows the reason of this, will admire the variety, and several wayes of his industrious Proceeding. And then afterwards he saith, that * *Dionysius* maintained those Positions, upon occasion of the Error of certain Bishops of *Pentapolis*, who maintained the opinion of *Sabellius*;

&c that he did this, by *Dispensation*, as he there speaks; that is to say, not positively, and simply, but as in reference to such a certain case only. Now no Man ought † (saith he) to

Wrest to the worst sense, those things which are either said, or done by Dispensation; or to interpret them as himself pleaseth. And in another place he in the same manner explaineth the words of the Fathers of the Council of Antioch, who had denied the *Consubstantiality* of the Son; * shewing that their intention was, onely to overthrow a Position which *Paulus Samosatenus* had laid down; namely, that the Father, and the Son, were both one and the selfe same Person, and had not any distinct subsistence.

By this very Rule also doth † S. Basil interpret that saying of *Gregorius Neocæsariensis*, namely, That the Father and the Son are Two, according to Our Apprehension onely; but that in Hypostasis they are but One: saying, That he spake this, not Dogmatically, but onely let it fall from him in the heat of Disputation. Whence it appeareth,

Basil. Ep. 64. πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν ὁπνοῖα μὲν δύο, ὑποστάσεις δὲ ἓν.
Ibid. Τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἐδογματικῶς εἴρηται, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιστικῶς, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Αἰλιανὸν διαλέξει ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως σωτῆρος, &c.

that in all such Writings of the Fathers, the opinion which they oppugne, is the Rule, and Measure of whatsoever they are to be understood therein either to affirm, or deny. This is that which varieth their sense, and meaning, though oftentimes exprest in the same manner, and with the very same words, with that of the Hereticks. When they dispute against the *Valentinians*, or the *Manichees*; a Man would then believe them to be *Pelagians*: and so likewise, when they are contesting with the *Pelagians*, you would then imagine, that they defended the opinions of the *Manichees*. If they dispute against *Arius*, you would think they favoured *Sabellius*: and again, when they oppose *Sabellius*, you would believe that they were *Arians*: as hath been observed by the Bishop

of * *Biponte*, particularly in S. *Augustine*. The like practise to this, we may every day observe in our Preachers. When they preach against Covetousness, they seem in a manner to cry up Prodigality: and if they declaim against Prodigality, they then seem to approve Covetousnesse. Thus is it also with the Protestants: when they would overthrow those empty Figures, which are fathered by

* Corn. Musurus
Episc. Bipont.
Comment. in ep.
ad Rom. c. 5.

their Adversaries upon those they call *Sacramentarians*, you would judge that they maintained the Reality of the *Eucharist*, as the manner of speaking is. And when they dispute against *Transubstantiation*, and the *Real Presence*, you would then swear, that they defended the opinion of these very *Sacramentarians*. There is, amongst *Athanasius* his Works, a certain very learned, elegant, and acute Tract, wherein is debated, as strongly as may be, that Point, touching the Distinction of the Two Natures in *Iesus Christ*. Do but read what he there sayes, in the be-

T. 2. Oper. A-
than. Par. impr.
an. 1627. ωρεῖς
τὸ λέγοντας,
Ἰησοῦ ὁ
εἷν, ὁ μὴ ὁμο-
λογῶν θεὸν ἑ-
σαυρώμενος.

† Gennad. in
Catal. inter Op.
Hier. Nunc
autem perni-
ciosa proba-
tur. Fomen-
tum enim est
Eutychianæ,
& Timothe-
anæ impieta-
tis.

* Facund.
Herm. defens.
3. capit. lib. 1.
p. 40. quo loco
vide Sirmon-
ium.

gining of that Discourse; and you will think, it could not proceed from any but from *Nestorius* his mouth. And yet you will perceive plainly by the last Chapter of the said Book, that he was not any whit of his opinion. Now if by any misfortune it should so have hapned, that this last Chapter had been lost, *Athanasius* must necessarily have been taken for a *Nestorian*, by reason of the dangerous Expressions which he hath there made use of, being occasioned thereunto through the heat of this Dispute, which he maintained against the opinions of the *Eutychians*. And for the very same reason also, *Iulius* Bishop of *Rome*, seemeth to have favoured the contrary Errour, namely that of *Eutyches*, in that Epistle of his cited by *Gennadius*; which was indeed heretofore of good use, against the opinion of those Men, who maintained Two Persons in *Christ*; but which † now is found to be pernicious, (saith He) by fomenting the impieties of *Eutyches*, and *Timothens*: Which hath given occasion to some of the more * Modern Authors, who have written since *Gennadius* his time, to think that this Epistle was not truly Pope *Iulius* his, but had been put upon him by the false dealing of the Hereticks. The case was the same with these Ancient Fathers, as it is with a Pilot of a Ship, who is to steer his Vessel betwixt two Rocks, one only whereof he hath discovered, the other lying hid under water: so that taking no other care, save onely to avoid the danger which he seeth before his eyes, he very easily falleth into

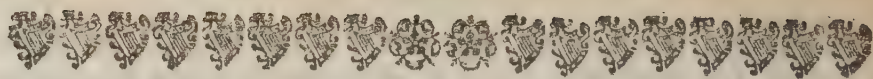
into that other, which he never so much as suspected: so that if he split not his Vessel upon it, and so be utterly cast away; he will very hardly however avoid receiving a bruise at least by it. Thus these Fathers saw indeed the Rock of *Paulus Samosatenus* his Doctrine, and that of *Nestorius*; but did not at all observe that of *Arius*, or of *Eutyches*, which lay yet under water, and concealed; and so imploying their utmost endeavours to avoid the danger of the two former, which they then only feared, they have very hardly escaped falling into, or at least touching very near upon the two Latter, which they then had no thought of at all. Do but imagine then, how warily, and carefully it concerneth us to walk, amidst these Disputes of the Ancients, which are so beset with Thorns; and with how much judgement we are to distinguish betwixt what things are Principal, and what but Accidental onely; betwixt the Cause, and the Means; and betwixt the Excess, or Defect in their Expressions, and their True sense, and meaning: and then tell me whether you think it reasonable, or not, that two, or three words onely, which may perhaps accidentally have fallen from them in their Disputations, either against the *Valentinians*, and *Marcionites*, or against the *Nestorians*, or *Eutychists*, should be taken as their Definitive Sentences upon such Points as are now controverted amongst us, whether touching *Free-will*, or the *Properties of the Body of Christ*, and the nature of the *Eucharist*. But, before we close up this matter, we are to take notice, that the changing of Customes, both Civil, and Ecclesiastical especially, and the variation of Words in their signification, do not a little contribute to this Difficulty of understanding the Writings of the Fathers. Who knoweth not, and indeed who confesseth not, both on the one side, and on the other, that the Outward Face of the World, and even of the Church it self too, is in a manner wholly changed? I speak not here of the Doctrine; but onely of the upper Garment, as I may call it, and the Outward part of the Church.

Church. Where is the Ancient Discipline? What is become of the rigid, and severe Rules of those Ancient Times? Where are those so Mysterious Ceremonies in Baptism, and in the Administration of the Eucharist? Where are those Customes then used in the Ordination of the Clergy? All these things are now quite forgotten, and buried; the Church by little and little having apparelled it self in other Colours, and in another different Garbe. The Books then of the Ancients being full of Allusions to these things which we are in a manner now wholly ignorant of; it must necessarily follow from hence, that it will be a hard matter for us to guess at their meaning in any such Passages. But yet there ariseth much more Confusion out of the words they used; which we have still retained, though in a different signification. We have indeed these words, *Pope, Patriarch, Masse, Oblation, Station, Procession, Mortal Sins, Penance, Confession, Satisfaction, Merit, Indulgence*, as the Ancients had, and make use of an infinite number of the like Terms; but understand them all in a sense almost as far different from Theirs, as Our Age is removed from Theirs: Just in like manner as of old, under the Roman Emperours, the names of Offices, and of things, for a long time continued the same that had been in use in the time of the Old Republick; but with a sense clear different from what they had formerly born. Thus when we light upon any Passage in the Ancients, where the Bishop of *Rome* is called *Papa*, or *Pope*; we presently begin to fancy him with all his *Pontificalibus* about him, and all the Glory at this day belonging to this Name; not bating him so much as his Guard of *Switzers*, and his Light-Horses: whereas they, that are but indifferently versed in these Bookes, know, that the name *Papa*, or *Pope*, was given to every Bishop. So likewise

* when

when we meet with the word *Exomologesis*, or *Confession*, we presently fancy a Man down upon his knees before his Confessor, shriving himself before him in private of all the sins he hath committed. The word *Masse* likewise makes us prick up our Ears, as if, even from those Ancient Times, the whole Liturgy, and all the Ceremonies used at the Celebration of the Eucharist, had been the very same that they are at this day : whereas the Learned of both Parties acknowledge, that these Names have, since that time, lost very much of their old, and acquired new significations. But this, which hath been said, is enough, if not ~~not~~ more then needed, for the clearing this Point, touching the obscurity in the Writings of the Fathers : so that we shall here conclude, what we proposed at the beginning ; namely, that it is not so easie a matter, as people may imagine, to discover by their Writings, what the sense of the Ancient Church hath been, touching the Points at this day controverted amongst Us.

CHAP.



CH A P. VI.

Reason VI. That the Fathers oftentimes conceal their own Private Opinions; and speak those things which themselves believed not; whether it be, when they report the Opinion of some others, without naming the persons; as they frequently do in their Commentaries; or in disputing against an Adversary, where they make use of whatsoever they can; or else whether they have done so, in compliance to their Auditory; as may be observed in their Homilies.

THe Writings of the Fathers are, for the most part, of three sorts; that is, they are either Commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures; or Homilies delivered before the People; or else they are Polemical Discourses, and Disputations with the Hereticks. Now we have formerly seen, how much their Ornaments of Rhetorick have darkned, and rendred their sense obscure, in their Writings of the First, and Second sort; and what their Heats of Disputation, and Logical Wranglings have caused, in those of the Later. Let us now see, if having drawn the Expressions of the Fathers out of these thick Clouds, and attained to a clear, and perfect understanding of the sense of them; we may be able at length to rest assured, that we have discovered what their opinions have been. I confess, I could heartily wish that it were so: but considering what they have themselves informed us, concerning the nature, and manner of their Writings; I am much afraid, that we neither may, nor indeed ought, to reckon our selves in any sure condition, even then, when we are upon these very Terms. For as concerning their Commentaries, which we have often occasion to
consult,

consult, upon sundry Passages of Scripture, touching the meaning whereof we disagree among our selves; hear what s. Hierome saith, who was the most Learned of all the Lat. ns, & who gives place but very little to any of the Greeks in these matters. *What (saith he) is the businesse of a Commentary? It expoundeth the words of another Man; and declareth in plain terms the sense of things obscurely Written; it representeth the several opinions of others, and sayeth: Some expound this Passage thus; and others interpret it thus. These endeavour to prove their sense, and meaning, by such testimonies, and such reasons; to the end that the Intelligent Reader, having several Expositions before him, and reading the judgments of diverse Men, some bringing what he may, and others perhaps what he cannot admit of; he may judge, which among the rest is the truest; and like a wise Banker, may refuse all Adulterated Coin. Now I would fain ask, whether he ought to be accounted guilty of diversity in his Interpretations, or of Contradiction in the senses given, who in one and the same Commentary shall deliver the Expositions of divers persons? and so on, as it there followeth in the place afore cited. He speaketh likewise to the same sense in diverse other places throughout his Works. † This (saith he) is the usual manner of Commentaries, and the Rule that Commentators go by; to set down in their Expositions the several opinions they have met withal; and to deliver, both what their own, and what the judgment of others is upon the place. And this is the practise not onely of the Interpreters of the Scriptures, but of the Expositors also of all kinde of Secular Learning, as well in the Greek, as in the pretes scripturarum, sed sæcularium quoque literarum explanatores faciant, tam Latinæ Linguz quàm Græcæ.*

Hier. ep. ad Pammach. & Marc. Apol. advers. Ruff. Commentarii quid operis habent? Alterius dicta edisserunt; quæ obscure scripta sunt, plano sermone manifestant, multorum sententias replicant, & dicunt: Hunc locum quidam sic edisserunt; alii sic interpretantur; illi sensum suum & intelligentiam his testimoniis, & hæc nituntur ratione firmare; ut prudens Lector cum diversas explanationes legerit, & multorum vel probanda vel improbanda didicerit, judicet quid verius sit, & quasi bonus Trapezita adulterinæ monetæ pecuniam reprobet. Num diversæ interpretationis, & contrariorum inter se sensuum tenebitur reus, qui in uno opere quod edisserit, expositiones posuerit plurimorum?

† Id. Apol. advers. Ruff. Hic est Commentariorum mos, & explanantium regula, ut opiniones in expositione varias persequantur, & quid vel sibi, vel aliis videatur edisserant. Et hoc non solum sanctarum inter-

Latine Tongue. Now I must needs say, that this seems to be a very strange way of Commenting. For, what light, or what certainty can a Reader be able to gather out of such a Rapsodie of different opinions, tumbled together in a heap, without so much as intimating either which is good, or bad; or probable, or necessary; or to the purpose, or not? But seeing it hath pleased *S. Hierome* to follow this Course, whatsoever his reason be; you see plainly, that we are not to take, as His, whatsoever he hath delivered in his Commentaries. And seeing also he speaks in general termes, as he doth, of the nature and manner of a Commentary; we are not to doubt, but that the rest of the Fathers have been, the greatest part of them, of the same judgement; and that consequently they took the same course in those Expositions which we have of theirs. So that it will hence follow, that notwithstanding that we should chance to finde in these kinde of writings of theirs, an opinion, or an Interpretation, clearly delivered; yet may we not from thence presently conclude, that this was the Authors own opinion: for, perhaps he onely delivered it, as the opinion of some other Man. Now if the Fathers had been but careful to have taken in water out of wholesome Fountains onely, filling up their Commentaries with no other opinions, or Interpretations, save onely those of persons of known Piety, Faith, and Learning; this Mixture would have proved the less dangerous by much. For, notwithstanding that we should often be at a stand, and doubt, whether that which we there finde be the true sense, and opinion of the Father, whose name it goes under; yet however we might still rest assured, that though it should not perhaps be his, yet must it certainly be the opinion of some other good Author, if not of equal, yet of little lesse authority then he. But the mischief of it is, that they took a quite contrary course, many times stuffing up their Commentaries with very strange, senseless Expositions, and sometimes too with dangerous ones, and such as were taken out of
very

very suspected Authors, and which had no very good name neither in the Church. S. *Hierome* tels us often, (and who ever shall but diligently, and attentively read him, may easily observe as much,) that his Commentaries, (which make the greatest, and most considerable part of his Works,) are interwoven throughout with Expositions taken out of *Origen*, *Didymus*, *Apollinaris*, and others, who were at that time ill spoken of, as Men who too presumptuously put upon the world their own private opinions, *Fashioning the Mysteries of the Church out of their own Private Fancies*: as S. *Hierome* himself sometime said of *Origen*. Now this is wonderful strange to me: for, no Man is more fierce in crying down these Authors, then He; being indeed one of the principal heads of that *Holy League* of *Theophilus* and *Epiphanius*, against *Origen*, and his Party. No Man ever reproved any one so sharply, as He hath done *Ruffinus*, for offering to present to the view of the Latins the poisonous Doctrines of *Origen*, in those Books of his which he had translated: And in the mean time he himself stuffs up his own Commentaries with the same; many times without using any preparation at all about them, or furnishing his Reader with any Counter-poyson, in case he meet with any of them. So likewise, in his Commentaries upon the Prophets, he ever and anon bringeth in diverse Expositions out of the *Jews* themselves: insomuch that, when you think, you are reading, and searching after the opinion, and sense of S. *Hierome*, upon such or such a Passage, you often reade that of an *Heretick*, or of a *Jew*. If the Fathers would have but taken the pains to have given us notice every time, who the Author was, whose opinion they alleaged; this manner of Commenting upon the Scriptures would have been much more beneficial unto us, and lesse troublesome. For, the name would have been useful to us, in directing us, what account we were to make of such opinions, and Expositions. But this they do but very seldome; as you may observe, out of the Ex-

Hier. Prasat. in Comment. in ep. ad Galat. & Apol. 2. adv. Ruff. & ep. 89. ad. August. & alibi saepe.

Hier. Comment. 5. in Es. pref. de Origene. Ingenium suum facit Ecclesiae Sacramenta.

Vid. Comment. in Nabum.

Vid. Hieron.
Apol. adv. Ruf.
ad Pammach.
& Marcel. &
Ep. 141. ad
Marcel.

Id. Comment. in
ep. ad Galat.

† Ut hypocri-
sis observan-
dæ Legis, quæ
nocebat iis
qui ex genti-
bus credide-
rant, correptionis hypo-
crisi emenda-
retur, & uter-
que populus
salvus fieret;
dum & qui
circumcisi-
onem laudant,
Petrū sequun-
tur, & qui cir-
cumcidi no-
lunt, Pauli
prædicant li-
bertatem.

* Hieron. ep.
ad August. quæ
est 89.

positions of S. Hilary, S. Ambrose, and others; who robbing poor Origen without any mercy, do not yet do him the honour so much as to name him scarcely. This is certain, that you shall finde, in S. Ambrose, many times whole Periods, and whole Pages too, taken out of S. Basil: but, unless my memory fail me very much, you shall never finde him once named there. These Men deliver you the opinions and words of other Men, just as if they were their own; and yet will not be bound to warrant them us, for good, and sound. S. Hierome, in his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians, expoundeth that Passage where there is mention made of S. Pauls reproving S. Peter, by way of Dispensation; telling us, that S. Paul did not reprehend him, as if he had indeed accounted him blame-worthy; but onely for the better Edification, and bringing in of the Gentiles, by this seeming Reprehension of his; who did but act this part with S. Peter, † To the end (saith he) that the Hypocrisie, or false shew of observing the Law, which offended those among the Gentiles who had believed, might be corrected by the Hypocrisie, or false shew of Reprehension; and that by this means both the one, and the other might be saved: whilest the one, who stood up for Circumcision, followed S. Peter; and those other, who refused Circumcision, applaud, and are taken with S. Pauls Liberty. S. Augustine, utterly disliking this Exposition of S. Hierome, wrote unto him in his ordinary grave, and meek way; modestly declaring the reasons why he could not assent unto it: which Epistles of his are yet extant. The other answers him a thousand strange things; but particularly he there * protesteth, that he will not warrant for sound, whatever shall be found in that Book of his: and to shew, that he doth not do this without good reason, he setteth down a certain passage out of his Preface to it, which is very well worth our Consideration. For after he hath named the Writings of Origen, Didymus, Apollinaris, Theodorus, Heraclas, Eusebius Emisenus, Alexander the Heretick, and

and others, he adds; *That I may therefore plainly tell the truth, I confesse that I have read all these Authors; and collecting together as much as I could in my memory, I presently called for a Scribe; to whom I dictated either my own Conceptions, or those of other Men, without remembering either the order, or the words sometimes, or the sense. Do but think now with your self, whether or no this be not an excellent, rare way of Commenting upon the Scriptures; and very well worthy both to be esteemed, and imitated by us!* He then turneth his speech to *S. Augustine*, saying, *If therefore thou lightedst upon any thing in my Exposition, which was worthy of reprehension; it would have stood better with thy Learning, to have consulted the Greek Authors themselves; and to have seen, whether, what I have written, be to be found in them, or not; and, if not, then to have condemned it, as my own private Opinion.* And he elsewhere gives the same answer to * *Ruffinus*, who upbraideth him for some absurd passages in his Commentaries upon the Prophet *Daniel*. Now according to this reckoning, if we would know, whether or no what we meet with in his Commentaries, be his own proper sense, or not; we must first turn over the Books of all these Ancient Greeks: that is to say, we must do that which is now impossible to be done; seeing that the Writings of the greatest part of them are utterly lost: and must not attribute any thing to him, as his proper opinion, how clearly and expressly soever it be delivered, unlesse we are first able to make it appear, that it is not to be found in any of those Authors, out of whose Writings he hath patched up his Commentaries. For if any one of them be found to have delivered any thing you here meet with; you are to take notice, that it belongeth to that Author: *S. Hierome* in this case having been onely his Transcriber, or at most but his Translator. So that you may be able perhaps, by the reading of Books in this manner collected, to judge, whether the Fathers have had the skill to make a handsome and artificial Connexion, and Digestion

Hier. Ibid. Itaque ut simpliciter fatear, legi hac omnia, & in mente mea plurima coacervans, accito notario, vel mea, vel aliena dictavi, nec ordinis, nec verborum interdum, nec sensuum memor.

Id. Ibid. Si quid igitur reprehensionis dignum putaveras in explanatione nostra, eruditionis tuae fuerat querere, &c. Vide & Apol. contra Ruff.

* *Id. Apol. 2. adv. Ruff.*

of

of those things which they took out of so many several Authors or not : but whether or no they believed all that they have set down in their Books, you will be no more able to discover, then you can judge, what belief any Man is of, by the Books he transcribeth ; or can guesse at the opinions of an Interpreter, by the Books he translateth. Whence we may conclude, that testimonies brought out of such Books as these, are of little or no force at all, either for, or against us. And this seemeth to have been the opinion of Cardinal *Bellarmino* also, where, to a certain Objection brought out of one of *S. Hieromes* Books, he makes this Answer ; *That the Author in that place speaketh according to the opinion of others ; as he often doth in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, and in other places.* The like course hath Cardinal *Perron* taken, where the Protestants have urged against the Church of Rome, the Authority of *S. Hilary*, touching the Canon of the Scriptures of the Old Testament ; confidently answering, that the Notes cited out of that place of *S. Hilary* are not his, but *Origen*, in his Commentary upon the First Psalm ; part of whose words he had transcribed, and put into his own Prologue upon the Psalms : and yet *S. Hilary* neither so much as nameth *Origen* ; nor yet gives us any intimation at all, whether we are to receive what is there spoken touching the Scriptures, as from *Origen*, or from himself. And the ground of this Answer of his is taken, from what *S. Hierome* hath testified in divers places ; namely, that *S. Hilary* hath transcribed the greatest part of his Commentaries out of the said *Origen*. Now if we but rightly consider the account which *S. Hierome* hath given, as we shewed before, of all Commentaries in general ; how can we have any assurance, whether that, which the Fathers deliver in these kinde of Writings, be their own proper opinion, or onely some other Mans transcribed ? and if we can have no assurance hereof, how can we then account them of any force at all, either for or against us ? So that it is most evident, that

that this Method which the Fathers have observed in their Expositions of the Scriptures, must needs render the things themselves very doubtful, how clearly and expressly soever they have delivered themselves. But hath it not concerned them to be more careful, in their *Homilies*, or Sermons; and to deliver nothing there, save only what hath been their own proper opinion, and belief? May we not, at least in this Particular, rest assured, that they have spoken nothing, but from their very soul: and that their tongues have vented here their own opinions onely, and not those of other Men? Certainly, in all reason, they should not have uttered any thing in this Sacred place, from whence they taught their people, save what they conceived to have been most true. And yet, besides what we have formerly noted, as to this particular; namely, that they did not alwayes speak out the whole truth, but concealed something of it, as not so fit for the ears either of the *Pagans*, or of the weaker sort of Christians; Cardinal *Perron*, that great and Curious inquirer into all the Customes of the Ancients, hath informed us, that in regard of the aforesaid Considerations, they have sometimes gone further yet. For, in expounding the Scriptures to the people, where the *Catechumens* were present, if by chance they fell upon any Passage where the Sacraments were spoken of; that they might not discover these Mysteries, they would then make bold to wrest the Text a little, and in stead of giving them the True, and Real Interpretation of the place, which they themselves knew to be such, they would onely present their Auditory with an Allegorical and Symbolical, and (as this Cardinal saith,) an Accidental and Collateral one; onely to give them some kinde of small Satisfaction; for as much as, if in such cases they should have been utterly silent, it would questionless have much amazed their Auditors, & in some sort also have scandalized, & given them offence. To satisfie therefore their expectation, and yet to keep these Mysteries still concealed from them, they waved

Perron of the Euchar. l. 1. c. 10. Aut. 24. ch. 15. & passim locis infra citandis.

waved the business handsomely, laying before them that which they accounted, not the best and truest, but the fittest for their purpose, and designe. Thus do we sometimes please little Children with an Apple, or some little Toy, to take them off the desire they have to something of greater value. Those therefore who take all that the Fathers deliver in the like places for good, and solid Expositions, and such as they themselves really believed, do very much deceive themselves; and believing they have a solid body in their arms, embrace onely an empty shadow. Now we should hardly believe those Holy Men to have been guilty of any such juggling dealing as this, had we not the word of this so great a Cardinal for our War-rant; upon whose Authority we have, for this once, adventured to propose it to the Readers consideration, and shall withal produce some few examples, taken out of the same Author. *S. Augustine* being to expound the sixth Chapter of the Gospel of *s. John*; where, as he conceives, our Saviour Christ is very copious in his Discourse concerning the Eucharist; he presently falls to overshadow, and disguise the Mystery, with such a number of Allegories, Riddles, and Ambiguities; as that, if you dare believe the Cardinal, throughout the whole XXVI Tract, there is not one Period but hath in it some Elusion, Diversion, or Diminution of the true, and solid Definition of this Article. Thus doth he interpret the Bread which came down from Heaven, to be, the Gift of the Holy Ghost: *Our Saviour* (saith he) *purposing to send down the H. Ghost, saith, that, It is the Bread which descended from Heaven.* You may, if you please, believe, upon the faith of this Father, that this is the true sense and meaning of the place: But yet the Cardinal makes it appear, out of *Calvin*, that it cannot be so. He likewise contradicteth after the same manner, that which the same Father saith a little after; to wit, that the purpose of our Saviour was, to let us understand that this *Meat & Drink*, whereof he speaks in *s. John*, is the Communion and Fellowship

*Perron. Tract.
de S. August.
c. 12. & lib. 2.
de Euch. Ant.
22. c. 1.*

ship, that is betwixt his Body, and his Members, who are the Holy Church, in his faithful servants, Predestinated, Called, Justified, and Glorified. Had not the Cardinal given us this information, who would ever have imagined, that this Author (who was so Conscientious, as that he made it a great quarrel against S. Hierome, onely for having laid Dissimulation to S. Pauls charge,) should here himself say, that our Saviour Christ would have us to understand His Words thus, unless he himself really believed this to be the true sense and meaning of them? The Cardinal applyes also this very consideration, to the greatest part of those other Passages, cited out of this Father, by the Protestants; as namely to this: *to believe in Christ, is, to eat the Bread of Life*: and to this other, *He that believeth in him, eateth of it; & he is Invisibly fed by it, because that he is also Invisibly born again*: and this other: *Whosoever eateth of this Bread, he shall never dye: but this is to be understood of him that eateth of it, according to the vertue of the Sacrament, and not according to the visible Sacrament; of him that eateth of it Internally, and not Externally; of him that eateth of it with his heart, and not of him that cheweth it with his teeth*. In all which places the Cardinal pretendeth, that S. Augustine suppresseth the true, full, and solid Definition of this Manducation, or eating of the Flesh, and drinking the Blood of Christ; and instead thereof, presenteth this Allegorical, and Accidental Meditation to the Catechumeni, onely to cast a mist, as it were, before their eyes, and to elude their curiosity. He makes use of the same course also, in answering those Passages, which are alleaged by the Protestants out of Theodoret, and Gregory Nazianzen*; who, he Id. de. Euch. faith, † called the Eacharist, the Antitype of the Body and l. 2. Aut. 24. Blood of Christ, in the same manner as Abraham, being c. 15. * Id. l. 2. Aut. among Infidels, called Sarah, his siter; concealing some- 18. c. 5. thing of what was true, but yet affirming nothing that † Id. Ibid. was false. He likewise explaineth after the same manner this Passage, out of Clemens Alexandrinus his Pedago-

† Perron. de
Euch. l. 2. Art.
5.

Id. de Euch.
pag. 52. 329.
332. 339.
344. 356. 417.
420. 434 501.
503. 508. 510.
516. & Trac.
de S. August.
p. 55. 57. 95.
145. 191.

gus: † *The Flesh, and the Blood of Christ, is, Faith, and the Promise.* In a word, he is so much pleased with this Observation, as that he fetcheth it in at every turn: * and indeed we may very well say, that this is his main Treasury, out of which he produceth the greatest part of those subtile, and so admired Solutions that he giveth to the Passages objected against them out of the Fathers. Those that have a minde to examine these places of his, may happily finde something to return upon him, in some of those Applications which he hath there made. It is enough for our present purpose, that he grants us, that the Fathers in their Sermons and Discourses made to the people, have oftentimes made use of this piece of Art; it following clearly from hence, that we cannot then possibly have any assurance, that they themselves accounted, as solid and full, such Expositions, and Opinions, as they have delivered in these Writings of theirs. For, as the Cardinal endeavoureth by this means to weaken the force of those Passages of *S. Augustine, Gregory Nazianzen, Theodoret, and Clemens Alexandrinus*; may not the Protestants, when you alleage against them any Passages out of the Homilies of *S. Chrysostome, or Eucherius*, which seem to make strongly against their opinions, be allowed to have the same Liberty, and to answer; that these Fathers speaking before the people, made use of this *Dispensation*, speaking that which they thought to be, not the Best, and Truest, but the most proper for the edification of others? and that they had an apprehension, that a bare and downright expression of the Truth, might possibly have taken off the Heat of the peoples Devotion? there being apparently (say They) more cause to doubt, that the people might disesteem & slight the Sacrament, then to fear least they should adore it: as indeed the Fathers are much more careful in concealing the Matter of the Sacrament, the outward appearance whereof is apt to make it disesteemed; then they are in concealing the Form, which is of so Venerable a nature: saying often,
and

and in expresse terms, that it is *the Body of Christ*; but ordinarily forbearing to say, that it is, or that it was a *Piece of Bread*.

We come now to the third sort of the Writings of the Ancients, wherein the Fathers dispute against the Adversaries of their faith; namely, the *Pagans*, *Jews*, and *Hereticks*. We have formerly touched how much obscurity the earnestness and heat of spirit have caused in the expressions of the Fathers; and this defect proceedeth from the weakness of their Passion onely; and not from any Designe or purpose that they had of speaking thus, rather then otherwise. For, seeing that all manner of passions do disturbe, and in some small measure, as it were, confound the Judgement; and seeing it is hard for a Man, how holy soever he be, to go through with a Disputation, without some alteration in his Temper, especially if it be of any Importance, as all those touching Religion are: we are not to wonder at it, if in these Cases we sometimes finde the language of the Fathers something mixed, and appearing of several colours; such as Passion usually dieth both the Countenance and the Words withal of such persons, as it hath seized on. But besides this Confusion, which is caused meerly by the Agitation of the spirits, without the Fathers so much as thinking of it; we are here further to take notice, that the proper Designe, and the Law of the Method that is observed in Disputations, is the cause of our incountring with so many, and so great Difficulties. For their opinion was, that in this kinde of Writing it was lawful for them to say, and make use of any thing, that might advance their Cause, although it were otherwise but Light and Trivial, or perhaps also Contrary to what themselves believed; and so, on the other side, to conceal and reject whatsoever might prejudice their Cause, though otherwise True, and allowable. Now that this Observation may not seem strange, and incredible, as coming out of my mouth; let us hear what They themselves say, in this particular. And first let us

hear *S. Hierome*, who was the greatest Critick of them all; and who by often exercising the strength of his admirable Wit, both by himself, and with others, hath observed more, touching the Style, Method, Natural Disposition, and Opinions of the Fathers, than any other. † *We*

Hier. ep. 50. ad Pammach. Simul dicimus, plura esse videlicet genera dicendi, & inter cætera aliud esse *ὑμναστικὸς* scribere, aliud *διδασκαλικὸς*: In priori vagā esse disputationē, & adversario respondentē nunc hæc, nunc illa proponere, argumentari ut liber, aliud loqui, aliud agere, panē (ut dicitur) ostendere, lapidē tenere. In sequenti autē aperta frons, & ut ita dicam, ingenuitas necessaria est. Aliud est quarere, aliud definire: in altero pugnandū, in altero docendū est. Tu me stantem in prælio, & de vita periclitantē, studiosus magister doceas? Noli ex obliquo, & unde non putaris, vulnus inferre. Directo percutere gladio. Turpe tibi est hostem dolis ferire, non viribus. Quasi non & hæc ars summa pugnantium sit, alibi minari, alibi percutere. Legite obsecro vos *Demoſthenem*, legite *Tullium*: ac ne forsitan Rhetores vobis displiceant, quorum artis est verisimilia magis quā vera dicere, legite *Platonem*, *Theophrastum*, *Xenophontem*, *Aristotelem*, & reliquos qui de *Socratis* fonte manantes diversis cucurrere rivulis; quid in illis apertum, quid simplex est? quæ verba non sensuum? qui sensus non victoriæ? Considerate quibus argumentis, & quā lubricis problematibus diaboli spiritu contexta subvertant; & quia interdū cogimur loqui, non quod sentiunt, sed quod necesse est, dicunt adversus ea quæ dicunt Gentiles. Taceo de Latinis scriptorib⁹, *Tertulliano*, *Cypriano*, *Minucio*, *Victorino*, *Lactantio*, *Hilario*, ne non tā me defendisse, quā alios videar accusasse.

have learned together, (saith He, writing to *Pammachius*,) that there are diverse sorts of Discourse; and among the rest, that it is one thiag, to write *ὑμναστικὸς*, by way of Disputation; and another thing, to write *διδασκαλικὸς*, by way of Instruction. In the Former of these the Disputes are free, and rambling; Where, in answering an Adversary, and proposing one while one thing, and another while another, a Man argueth as he pleaseth; speaking one thing, and doing another; shewing bread (as it is in the Proverb) and holding a stone in his hand. Whereas in the second kinde, an open Forehead, and that I may so speak, Ingenuity is necessarily required. It is one thing to make Inquiries, and another to define: in the one we must fight, in the other we must teach. Thou seest me in a combat, and in peril of my life; and dost thou come with thy grave Instructions, like some Reverend Schoolmaster? Do not wound me by stealth, and from whence I least expected it. Let thy sword strike directly at me: it is a shame for thee to wound thy enemy by guile, and not by strength: as if it were not a piece of the greatest mastery in fighting, to threaten one part, but hit another. I beseech you read *Demoſthenes*, read *Tully*: and lest perhaps you should refuse Orators, whose profession it

is to propose things rather probable, then true; read Plato, Theophrastus, Xenophon, Aristotle, & others; who springing all from Socrates his Fountain, as so many several Rivulets ran several wayes: What can you finde in them, that is clear and open? What word in them but hath its Designe? and what Designe, but of victory onely? Origen, Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, have written largely against Celsus, and Porphyrie: do but observe what manner of Arguments, and how slippery Problems they made use of, for the subverting of those works, which had bin wrought by the spirit of the Devil: and how that being sometimes forced to speak, they alleaged against the Gentiles, not that which they believed, but that which was most necessary to be said. I shall not here speak any thing of the Latin Writers, as Tertullian, Cyprian, Minucius, Victorinus, Lactantius, and Hilary, lest I might seem rather to accuse others, then to defend my self. Thus S. Hierome. For, as for that which he presently addeth, touching S. Paul, whom he believeth to have practised the very same Arts, this is no proper place to examine, either the Truth, or the Use of this Opinion of his; for as much as our purpose is here to treat of the Fathers onely. Now you see, that he testifieth clearly, that they were wont, in their Disputations, sometimes to say one thing, and believe another; to shew us Bread, and keep a Stone in their hand; to threaten one part, and to hit another; and that they were sometimes constrained to fit their words, not to their own proper Thoughts, but to the present Necessity. And the very same thing is confessed also by Athanasius, speaking of Dionysius Alexandrinus, as hath been said before: namely, that he wrote, not simply, and plainly, as giving us an account of his own Belief; but that he was moved, and as it were forced to speak as he did, by reason of the Occasion, and of the Person he disputed against. The like account doth S. Basil give of a certain Passage of Gregorius Neocæsariensis; answering for him with this Distinction; That he spake not in that place Dogmatically, but onely by way of Economy.

Athan. ep. de

fide Dion.

Alex.

Basil sup. c. 5.

Athan. ep. de
fid. Dion. Alex.
Τὰ κατ' ὁι-
κονομίαν γε-
γόμενα.

Oeconomy, or Dispensation. By which Term is meant, that a Man keepeth to himself what he believeth, & proposeth some other thing, lying wide of his own opinion, either this way, or that way; being concerned so to do, out of some certain particular considerations. And as we sometimes see, that the Water ascendeth; being forced to mount up, to fill some space, which otherwise would remain void: (Now you will not, I hope, conclude from hence, that this is its natural and ordinary motion:) In like manner was it with the Fathers; who, being sometimes distressed, and hard put to it in Disputation, for to avoid, as I may so speak, some certain *Vacuum*, which they were afraid of, they sometimes left their Natural Motion, and their proper sense and opinion, and took up some other contrary one, according to the Necessity of the present occasion. And indeed, although *S. Hierome* had not given us this notice, the thing it self would evidently enough have appeared, out of their Writings. For otherwise, how could any one possibly have believed, that they could have spoken so diversly as they have done in many particulars, blowing hot and cold with one and the same mouth? How could they possibly have delivered so many things contrary either to Reason, or to the Scriptures, or to the Fathers? For, (as the same *S. Hierome* saith) *Who is so very a Block-head, and so ignorant in the Art of Writing, as that he will praise and condemn one and the same thing; pull down what he hath built; and build, what he had pulled down?* Now the * Fathers are often observed to have done this very thing. We are therefore to conclude, that they have been forced to it, out of some special Designe; and that they did it, as they use to speak, by *Oeconomy*, or *Particular Dispensation*; seeing that it is evident, that the greatest part of them were very able Men. *S. Hierome* by name, recommending the going in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, went thus far, as to say, † *That it was a part of our Faith, to go and worship in those places, where the feet of our Saviour once stood; and to have*

* Hier. ep. 50.
ad Pam. Quis
enim tam he-
bes, & sic in
scribendo ru-
dis est, ut id-
em laudet &
damnet? ædi-
ficata destru-
at, & destru-
cta ædificet?
Hier. ep. ad
Desider. quæ
est 144. Certè
adorasse ubi
steterunt pe-
des Domini,
pars fidei est.

a sight

a sight of the Traits, which at this day continue fresh, both of his Nativity, Crosse, and Passion. Now how doth this agree with that large Discourse, which he hath made in another place, to a quite contrary sense? namely, in his Epistle to *Paulinus*; where at length concluding, he gives him this Reason of the length of his Discourse; * *To the end* (saith he) *that thou mayest not think that anything is wanting to the compleating of thy Faith, because thou hast not visited Jerusalem; or, that we are any whit the better, for having the opportunity of dwelling in this place.* And here he concurs with *Gregory Nyssen*, who hath written a Discourse, expressly against the opinion of those, † *Who account it to be one of the parts of Piety, to have visited Jerusalem.* Let any Rational Man therefore now judge, whether or no this Course must not necessarily embroile, and inwrap in a world of almost inexplicable Difficulties, the Writings of the Fathers. For, how is it possible that we should be able to judge, when they speak as they thought, and when not? Whether they mean really what they say, or whether they make but a Flourish onely? Whether the Bread which they shew us, be to deceive, or to feed us? Whether the Problems they propose be solid, or slippery ones? Whether their Positions be *Dogmatical*, or *Oeconomical*? Certainly if our Court judgments were framed after this manner, we should never hope to have an end in any suit of Law. For as for that which *S. Hierome* saith, *That an intelligent, and favourable Reader ought to judge of those things which seem hard, out of the rest of the Discourse: and not presently to accuse any Author of blockishnesse, for having delivered in one and the same Book, two contrary Opinions:* I confess that this is very true; but yet it doth not remove the Difficulty. For how intelligent and discerning a Man soever the Reader be, it will very often be impossible for him, to make a right judgement in this particular: as for example, when those other things are wanting, which *S. Hierome* would have a Man to make the measure of his judgment:

Id. ep. 13. ad Paulin. Quorsum (inquies) hæc tam longo repetita principio? Videlicet ne quidquam fidei tuæ deesse putes, quia Hierosolymam non vidisti, nec nos idcirco meliores existimes quòd huius loci habitaculo fruimur.

Greg. Nyss. in Ep. πρὸς τὸν ἀπόντων εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα, &c. οἷς ἐν μέρῃ δ' οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τὸ πρὸς ἰδεῖν.

Hier. ep. 50. ad Pam. Debuerat prudens et benignus Lector etiam ea quæ videntur dura estimare de cæteris, &c. non in uno atque eodem libro criminari me diversas sententias protulisse.

or,

or, when one bringeth us no more of an Author, save only a bare Sentence; the Chapter, and Book where these words are, which have need to be explained, being quite out of his memory. And how many such are alleaged every day, in our Disputations? What can we now do, or which way shall we turn our selves, if meeting with a Passage out of any of the Father, that needeth to be explained, we can finde no other place in him concerning the same Point; or if there be none found, but what is as doubtful as the other; or that is not in some other Book controverted it self? Who shall regulate us, amidst such Contradictions as these? But, which is yet worse, those things which *S. Hierome* prescribeth us for a Rule, and direction to our judgement, are now in these dayes of ours very unseasonable; as being harsh, as to the one side, and pleasing to the other; according to mens several affections, and interest; according to which they are wont to interpret, and judge of the Fathers; whereas we should rather search in them, which way we are to direct our judgements. And that Favourableness which *S. Hierome* requireth in us, cannot be here of any use at all; but may possibly besides do very much hurt. For the greater the Affection is that we bear to any Father; the greater care and pains will we take in vindicating his words, and interpreting them in a sense as far different as we can from what we have long since condemned, as Erroneous and Unsound; though possibly this may have been his reall sense, and opinion. As for example, in those Passages before cited out of *S. Hierome*, and *Gregory Nyssen*, the Protestant accounteth that a very harsh piece of Doctrine, which yet his Adversary is very well pleased with: the one of them sweats, and torments himself much, in the explaining of such a Passage, as appears very easie to the other: the one takes that for Text, which the other accounts but as a Gloss. And thus the greater affection Men bear to the name, and authority of any one of the Fathers, the more do they labour and use their utmost endeavours,

to

to bring him over to speak to their opinion; that is to say in plain truth, to force him out of his Own; it being impossible that he should hold both opinions at once. We shall here therefore conclude, that how Clear and Express so ever the words of the Fathers may be, yet nevertheless will it very often so fall out, as that we cannot have any assurance that we have their Sense expressed in them; whether it be, in their Expositions of the Scriptures; or in their Homilies, and Sermons before the People; or lastly in their Disputations with their Adversaries, touching their Faith.

C H A P. VII.

Reason VII. *That the Fathers have not alwayes held one and the same Belief; but have sometimes changed some of their Opinions, according as their Judgement hath grown riper, through Study, or Age.*

AMongst all the Ecclesiastical Writers, the Pen-Men of the Old and New Testament onely have received the knowledge of Divine things, by an extraordinary Inspiration: the rest have acquired their knowledge by the ordinary means of *Instruction, Reading, and Meditation*; in such sort, as that this Knowledge came not unto them in an Instant, as it did to the others; but increased in them by degrees; ripening, and growing up by little and little, in proportion as They grew in years: whence it is, that their Writings are not all of them of the same Weight, nor of the same Value. For who seeth not, that what they, as it were, sportingly wrote in their younger years, is of much less consideration, then those other Pieces, which they wrote in their riper age? Who, for instance, would equal the Authority of that Epistle of *S. Hierome* to *Heliodorus*, written by him when he had but newly left the Rhetorick Schools, being yet a Childe,

*Hier. Ep. 1. ad
Heliodor. vid.
Ep. 2. ad Nepot.*

Q and

and full of that Innocent and Inconsiderate Heat, which usually attendeth those years, to that of those other Graver Pieces, which he afterwards sent abroad into the Church, when he had now arrived to his full strength, and ripeness of Wit, and to the perfection of his studies? *S. Augustine* hath left us a remarkable Testimony, that the Fathers profited by age, and study, in the knowledge of the Truth, when as in his old age, taking Pen in hand, he reviewed and corrected all that he had ever written during his whole life; faithfully, and ingenuously noting whatsoever he thought worthy of reprehension, and giving us all those his Animadversions collected together in the Books of his *Retractions*; which in my judgement is the most Glorious, & most Excellent of all those many Monuments, which he hath left to Posterity; whether you consider here the Learning, or the Modesty, and sincerity of the Man. *S. Hierome* reporteth that *Origen* also, long before, had in his old age written an Epistle to *Fabianus* Bishop of *Rome*; wherein he confesseth, that he repented him of many things, which he had taught, and written. Neither is there any doubt, but that some such like thing may have hapned to most of the other Fathers; and that they may have sometime disallowed of that which they had formerly believed, as true. Now from this consideration there falls in our way a new Difficulty, which we are to grapple with, in this our inquiry into the true, genuine sense of the Fathers, touching our present Controversies. For, seeing that the Condition, and Nature of their Writings is such; it is most evident, that when we would make use of any of their opinions, it will concern us to be very well assured, that they have not onely sometime either held, or written the same; but that they have moreover persevered in them to the end. Whence *Vincentius Lirinensis*, in that Passage of his which is so often urged, for the making use of the Ancient Authors in deciding our present Controversies, thinks it not fit, that we should be bound to receive whatsoever they have said,

Hier. ep. 65. de Erroribus Origenis. Ipse Origenes in Epistola quam scribit ad Fabianum, Romanæ urbis Episcopum, pœnitentiam agit cur talia scripserit, &c.

Vincent. Lirinens. lib. adv. prof. Novit. seu Common.

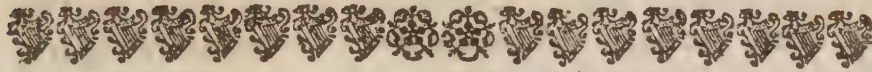
said, for certain, and undoubted Truth, unless they have assured, and confirmed it unto us by their Perseverance in the same, as He there speaketh. Cardinal *Perron* also evidently sheweth us the same way, by his own practise: for, disputing about the Canon of the Holy Scriptures, (which he pretendeth to have been alwayes the very same, in the Western Church, with that which is delivered unto us by the III Council of *Carthage*, where the *Maccabees* are reckoned in among the rest;) and finding himself hardly pressed by some certain Passages alleaged by the Protestants out of *S. Hierome* to the contrary; he answereth the Objection, by saying, among other things, that this Father, when he wrote the said Passages, was not yet come to the Ripeness of his Judgement, and Perfection of his studies; whereas afterwards, when he was now more fully instructed in the truth of the sense of the Church, he changed his opinion, and retracted (as this Cardinal saith) both in General, and in Particular, whatsoever he had before written in those three Prologues, where he had excluded the *Maccabees* out of the Canon. *Id. Ibid.*

And so likewise to another Objection brought to the same purpose out of the Commentaries of *S. Gregory* the Great, he gives the like answer, saying; that *S. Gregory*, when he wrote that Piece, was not yet come to be Pope; but was a plain *Deacon* onely, being at that time employed at *Constantinople* as the Popes *Nuncio* to the Greeks. Now these Answers of his are either Insufficient; or else, it will necessarily follow from hence, that we ought not to rest certainly satisfied in the Testimony of any Father; except we first be assured, that not onely he never afterwards retracted that opinion of his; but that besides, he wrote it in the strength and ripeness of his judgement. And see now, how we are fallen into a new Labyrinth. For, first of all, from whence, and by what means may we be able to come, Truly, and Certainly, to the knowledge of this Secret; when as we can hardly meet with any light Conjectures, tending to the making of this Disco-

very, namely; whether a Father hath in his old age, changed his opinion touching that Point for which it is produced against us, or not? If they had all of them been either able, or willing to have imitated the Modesty of *S. Augustine*; we should then have had little left to trouble us. But you will hardly finde any either of the Ancients, or of those of Later times, that have followed this example; unless it be Cardinal *Bellarmino*, who hath lately thought good to revive this piece of Modesty, which had layen dead and buried for the space of so many Ages together, by writing a Book of *Retractions*; which Book of his is very diversly received by the Learned, as well of the one, as of the other Religion. But yet, if you will stand stiff upon it, with Cardinal *Perron*, and not allow the saying of a Father to be of any value, unless it were written by him after the Ripeness of his studies; I shall then despair of our ever making any Progress, so much as one step forward, by this means, in the business in hand. For, (will the one, and the other Party say, upon every Testimony that shall be produced against them,) how do we know, whether this Father had yet arrived to the Ripeness of his Judgement, when he wrote this Book or not? Who can tell, whether or no, those dayes of his life, that he enjoyed after the writing hereof, might not have bestowed as well clearness on his Understanding, as Whiteness on his Head? and have changed his Judgement, as well as his Hair? We suppose here that no such thing appeareth in any of his other Writings. How many Authors are there, who have changed their opinions, and yet have not retracted what they had formerly written? But, suppose now, that we should have lost that particular Tract, wherein the Author had given Testimony of the changing of his Opinion: what should we do in this Case? If Time should have deprived us of *S. Augustines* *Retractions*, and some other of his Later Writings, as it hath of an infinite

finite number of other Pieces, both of his, and other of the Fathers, which would have been of as great Importance to us; we must certainly have thought, that he had believed, that the Cause of *Predestination*, is the *Prescience*, or Foreseeing of the Faith of Men; reading but what he saith, in one of the Books which he first wrote; namely, † *That God hath not elected the Works of any Man*, † *August. Ex-*
according to his Prescience; seeing that it is He himself *posit. quar.*
that gives the same to a Man: But, that He hath elected *prop. ex Ep.*
his Faith, by His Prescience; that is; He hath elected those, *Rom. proposit.*
who, He foresaw, would believe His word; that is to say, *60. Non ergo*
He made choise of them to bestow His holy Spirit upon; that *elegit Deus*
so by doing good Works, they might attain everlasting Life. *opera cujus-*
Now would the Pelagians, and Semipelagians have *quam in præ-*
brought this Passage, as an Infallible Argument, that *scientiâ, quæ*
S. Augustine was of their opinion: but that his Retra- *ipse daturus*
ctions, and his other Books which were written after- *est: sed fidem*
wards in his Later time, clearly make it appear that this *elegit &c.*
Argument is of no force at all; for as much as this Learn-
ed Father, having afterwards better considered of this * *Id. Retract.*
*Point, wholly altered his opinion, * I had not (saith he)* *l. i. cap. 23.*
as yet diligently enough inquired into, nor found out, what *Nondum di-*
the Election of Grace was, whereof the Apostle speaketh in *ligentiùs quæ-*
these words: There is a Remnant (to be saved,) ac- *fiveram, nec*
cording to the Election of Grace: which certainly is *adhuc inve-*
not Grace, if any Merits preceded it; so that, that *neram, qualis*
which is given, should be rendred rather as due to the *sit Electio*
Merits, then as given freely, by Grace. Now who *Gratiæ, de*
knoweth, but that among those Fathers whom we so *qua idem di-*
confidently alleage every day, some of them may have *cit Apostolus,*
retracted those things which we at this day reade in *Reliquiæ, &c.*
their Works; and that Time may have devoured their
Retractions of those their opinions, and may have
left us onely their Errours? Besides, who knows, and
can truly inform us, what Date their Writings bear?
Whether they were the Fruits of their Spring,
 or.

or of their Summer, or of their Autumn? Whether they were gathered green, or were suffered to ripen upon the Tree. Doubtless this whole Inquiry is very dark; there being scarcely any mark of their season to be found, upon the greatest part of them. There are indeed some few of them, that have some of these Marks; but yet they are so doubtful, and uncertain ones, as that the most able, and choicest Wits are sometimes deceived in this their Inquiry. And when all is done, who knoweth not, that there are some Trees that bear their Summer Fruit even in the very beginning of the Summer, when as the Spring time is yet hardly past? And again, the Fruits which are gathered at the end of the Later Season, are not always the ripest: for Time, instead of ripening, many times rotteth them. In like manner is it also with Men, and consequently with the Fathers. Sometimes their Summer yeeldeth much more, and better fruit, then their Autumn. For, as for the Winter, that is to say, the last part of our Age, it is evident that it usually bringeth forth nothing at all; or if it do chance to force it self beyond Nature, the Fruits it bringeth forth are yet worse, and more crude and Imperfect, then those even of the Spring. Seeing therefore it is for the most part Impossible, to give any certain Judgement of these things, either by the History of these Authors, or by their Books themselves; and that again on the other side, without this, we ought not to sit down upon any thing we finde in their Writings, as reckoning we have made a Discovery, what their Opinions have been: we may safely conclude in this Point also, as we have done in the Former, that it is a very hard matter, to know truly, and precisely, what the Opinions, and Sense of the Ancients have been, touching the Differences at this day debated amongst us.



CH A P. VIII.

Reason VIII. *That it is Necessary, and withal very hard, to discover, how the Fathers have held all their several Opinions; Whether as Necessary, or as Probable onely; and in what degree of Necessity, or Probability.*

Logick teacheth us, that True Propositions are not all Equally so: some of them being but *Contingent* onely, as the Schools speak, and others being *Necessary*: and again, both the one, and the other, being more or lesse either *Contingent*, or *Necessary*, according to that admirable Division, which the Philosopher hath made, into those *Three Degrees of Necessity*, explained by him in the First Book of his *Demonstrations*. And hence it comes to passe, that the Knowledge, or Ignorance of these Degrees, is the more, or less Important, in those Sciences whereunto they appertain; there being some of them, as namely those which they call *Principles*, that are so Necessary, as that a Man cannot be ignorant of them, without overthrowing the whole Science wherein they ought to have place: and there being others again on the contrary side, that a Man may be ignorant of, so far, as to hold their *Contradictories* for true, and yet nevertheless not run any great hazard. As for example, these here following are Philosophical *Principles* of the first sort: namely, *That there is Motion*: and, *That every Body occupieth some certain Place*, and the like. For, I beseech you, what strange Philosophy would it be, that should either be ignorant of, or should deny these *Principles*? But these other following are of the second sort: namely, *That there are precisely but Five Senses in Living Creatures*: and, *That the Heavens*

Arist. Poster. Analyt. xti παντος, καὶ ἀντι, καὶ ὁμοτι.

Heavens are not of an Elementary Substance, and the like. For, although these Propositions are by most held to be True, yet notwithstanding are they not so *Necessary*, but that a Man may pass for a Philosopher, and yet not only be Ignorant of these Positions; but may also, if he please, maintain even those things that are contradictory to them. Now if there be any Science, where this Consideration ought carefully to be applyed, it is, in my judgement, in this of *Divinity*. For, there is very much difference betwixt the Truths, whereof it consisteth; some of them being evidently more *Necessary*, then others; as *Origen* proveth plainly, in his XXVII Homily upon *S. Matthew*. Do but compare these two Propositions together: *Christ is God*; and, *Christ suffered death, being of the age of thirty four, or thirty five years*: who seeth not, that though both these Propositions are true, yet notwithstanding there is a very vast Difference betwixt them. For, the Former of these is *Necessarily True*; that is to say, it is True in such sort, as that it is Impossible but that Christ should be God; the salvation of Mankind, which is the End of our Religion, being otherwise not possibly to be obtained. But as for the Second, notwithstanding that it is true, & is collected clearly enough out of the Scriptures; yet is it not at all *Necessary*. For, Christ might, if he had so pleased, have suffered at the Fortieth, or Fiftieth yeer of his age, without any prejudice at all to our Salvation, which was the End of His suffering. Now according to this diversity of Degrees, the Belief, or Ignorance of these two Propositions are also of very different Importance. The First of them we may not be ignorant of, and much less deny, without renouncing Christianity. The Second we may be ignorant of, and even deny too, as supposing it false, yet without any great danger. To be able therefore to come to a clear and perfect understanding, what was the sense of the Fathers touching the Points of Religion at this day controverted amongst Us; it is necessary that we should know,
not

The right use of the Fathers.

not onely whether they believed, or not believed them ; but also, how they believed , or not believed them : that is to say, whether they held them as Propositions Necessary, or Probably, either True, or False ; and besides, in what Degree either of Necessity , or Probability they placed them. Now that this Inquiry is very Necessary, Cardinal *Perrou* hath clearly demonstrated in that Learned Epistle of his, written to *Casaubon*, against K. *James*. For, the King attributing to himself the name of *Catholic* , under pretence that He believed, and held all those things, that the Fathers of the Four or Five First Centuries did ; the Cardinal denies his Sequel ; replying, among other things, that to be of the Communion of the Ancients, a Man ought not onely to believe what they believed , but also to believe it in the same manner, and in the same Degree, that they did : that is to say, to believe as Necessary to salvation, what they believed as Necessary to salvation ; and to believe as profitable to salvation, what they held for such ; and for lawful, and not repugnant to salvation, what they held for lawful, & not repugnant to salvation. And thus he goes on, and gives us a long and exact Division of the different Degrees of *Necessity* , which may, and ought to be considered, in all Propositions touching Religion. I could heartily wish that this Occasion had carried on this Learned Prelate so far, as to have made an Exact Application of this Doctrine, and to have truly enformed us, of what the greatest part of the World is at this day Ignorant ; namely, in what Degree each Point of the Christian Faith is held, either by the Church of *Rome*, or by the Ancient Fathers ; & what things are absolutely Necessary in Religion ; and what are those other things, that are necessary under some certain Conditions only : w^{ch} again are necessary by the necessity of the Means ; and which, by the necessity of the Precept ; (as he there speaks :) that is to say, which are those things, that we ought to observe, either by reason of their Profit, as being Means w^{ch} are profitable to salvation : and which we are to observe, by reason of the Commandement only,

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being

being enjoined us by such an Authority, as we owe Obedience to: and after all these Points, Which again All, and every of the Faithful are bound to believe *Expresly*; and, which are those, that it is sufficient to believe in gross onely, and by an *Implicite Faith*: and Lastly, which are those things that we ought Actually to do; and, which are those, that it is sufficient if we approve of them onely, though we do them not. So that it appeareth clearly out of these Words of his, that to be able to know, what the Belief of the Fathers hath bin, especially in the Points now in debate, we ought first to be assured, in what degree they believed the same. And that this Distinction was of very great Consideration with the ancient Church, it appears sufficiently out of the special regard which it alwayes had unto it; opening to, or shutting the door against Men, first of all, according to the things which they believed, or not believed: Secondly, according to the different manners, how they believed, or not believed them. For it Excommunicated those, who rejected those things that it held as *Necessary*; and so likewise, those, who preised as things *Necessary*, such as it held for things *Probable* onely. But it received, with all the sweetness that might be, all those who either were Ignorant of, or doubted of, or indeed denied those things which it accounted though *True*, yet not *Necessarily* so. This appeareth clearly, out of an Epistle written by *Irenaeus* to *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, set down by *Eusebius*, in his Ecclesiastical History: where this holy Man testifieth, that although there had been before *Victors* time, the same difference betwixt the *Asian* and the *Roman* Church, touching the celebration of *Easter-day*; yet notwithstanding they lived in peace, and mutual amity together; neither were any of the *Asian* Bishops ever excommunicated at *Rome*, for their dissenting from them, either in this, or in any other Point: but that rather on the contrary, *Polycarpus*, coming to *Rome*, in the time of Pope *Anicetus*, after they had had a Conference touching the Differences betwixt

Hist. Eccles.
Euseb. lib. 5.
cap. 24. Cod.
Graci cap. 26.

betwixt them, and each of them continued still firm in his former opinion; yet notwithstanding did they not forbear to hold fair correspondence with each other, and to communicate together; *Anicetus* also, out of the respect he bare to *Polycarpus*, allowing him the use of his own Church, to celebrate the Eucharist in. *Tertullian* in his Book, † *De Præscriptionibus adversus Hæreticos*, requires onely that the *Rule of Faith* (as he calls it) should continue in its proper Form, and Order; allowing every Man, in all other particulars, to make what Inquiries and Discourses he please, and to exercise his Curiosity to the height of Liberty: which is an evident Argument, that He admitted into His Communion all those who not contradicting the *Rule of Faith*, broached any other opinions; if so be they held them but as *Probable* onely; and proposed not any thing which was contrary to the *Rule of Faith*. The Author of the * *Apology of Origen*, published by *Ruffinus*, under the name of *Pamphilus*, was of the same opinion also. For, having confessed, that *Origen*, if not held, yet published some certain very strange opinions, touching the State of the Soul before the Birth of Man, and concerning the Nature of the Stars; he withal maintains, that these opinions do not presently make a Man an Heretick; and that even among the Doctors of the Church there was Diversity of opinion touching the same. But besides all this, it is evident that this Difference of judgment is even at this day to be found in the Church of *Rome*; where you shall finde the *Jacobins* & the *Franciscans* maintaining opinions utterly contradictory to each other, touching the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*; the one of them maintaining, that she was conceived without sin; whereas the other utterly deny it. And, that which makes me wonder the more, is, that they suffer such Contradictory opinions as these to be held amongst them, in such Particulars, as considered barely in themselves, seem yet to be of very great Importance. As for Example, a Man may either believe that we ought to

† *Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæret. c. 4. Cæterum manente formâ ejus in suo ordine, quantumlibet quæras, & tractes, & omnem libidinem curiositatis effundas, &c.*
Vid. l. de Virg. vel. l. i.
 * *Apol. Orig. inter opera Origen.*

yeeld to the Cross the Adoration of *Latria*; or, if he please, he may believe the contrary; without losing, either by reason of the one, or the other, the Communion of the Church, and Salvation. And yet notwithstanding if you but consider the thing in it self, it will appear to be a matter of no such Indifferency as people take it for. For, if the Former of these Opinions be indeed True; then must those that are of the other Opinion, needs sin very grievously, in not worshipping a Subject, that is so worthy of Adoration. But if it be False, then are those Men that maintain the same, guilty of a much greater sinne, by committing so horrible Idolatry. What Point is there in Religion, that seemeth to be of greater Importance then that, touching the Foundation, and Head of all Ecclesiastical Power, upon the Authority whereof the whole Faith, and State of the Church turneth? And yet, touching this Particular also, which is of so great consequence, do they suffer Men to maintain Contradictory Opinions; some attributing this Dignity to the *Pope*; and others, to a *General Council*. Now if the opinion of the First of these be true, then is the Faith of the Later built upon a very Erroneous Ground: but if the opinion of the Later be true, then doth the Faith of the Former depend upon a Cause, which is not Infallible; and consequently is Null. Now these Different opinions are reconciled, by saying, that the Church accounting neither of these Beliefs as *necessary* to Faith; a Man is not presently an Heretick, for holding the False opinion of the two; nor yet is he to be counted Orthodox, meerly for holding the True one. Seeing therefore that this Particular concerns the Communion of the Church, and our salvation also, which dependeth thereon; it will behove us to know certainly, in what Degree the Ancients placed those Articles, which are at this day so eagerly pressed upon the Protestants; and whether they held them in the same, or

*Ferron Repl.
l.4. in Prefat.*

in a Higher, or else in a Lower Degree of *Necessity*, then they are now maintained by the Church of *Rome*. For, unless this be made very clear, the Protestants, though they should confess, (which yet they do not,) that the Fathers did indeed really believe the same; might yet allege for themselves, that notwithstanding all this, they are not bound to believe the same; for as much as all opinions in Religion are not presently Obligatory, and such as all Men are bound to believe; seeing that there are some that are indeed *necessary*, but some others that are not so. They will answer likewise, that these opinions are like to those at this day controverted, betwixt the *Dominicans*, and the *Franciscans*; or to those other Points, debated betwixt the *Sorbonists* and the *Regulars*: wherein every one is permitted to hold what he pleaseth. They will urge for themselves the Determination of the Council of *Trent*, which in expresse terms distinguisheth betwixt the opinions of the Fathers; where having thundred out an *Anathema*, against all those that should maintain, that the Administring of the Eucharist was necessary for little Infants, they further declare, that this Thunderbolt extended not to those Ancient Fathers, who gave the Communion to little Infants; for as much as they maintained, and practised this, being moved thereunto upon *Probable* Reasons onely, and not accounting it *necessary* to salvation. Seeing therefore that some Errors, which have been condemned by Councils, may be maintained in such a certain Degree, without incurring thereby the danger of their Thunderbolts: by the same reason a Man may be ignorant of, and even deny some Truths also, without running the hazard of being Anathematized. Who can assure us, (may the Protestants further adde) that the Articles w^{ch} we reject, are not of this kind? and such, as that though perhaps they may be true, it is nevertheless lawful for us not to believe. My opinion therefore is, that there is no Man now that seeth not, that it concerns the Doctors of the *Roman Church*, if they mean to convince their Adversaries out of

*Conc. Trident.
Sess. 21. cap. 5.
extr. & Can. 4.*

of the Fathers, first to make it appear unto them, that the Ancients held the said Points, not onely as True, but as *Necessary* also, and in the very same *Degree* of *Necessity* that they now hold them. Now this must needs prove a business of most extream Difficulty, and much greater here, then in any of the other particulars before proposed. And I shall alleage no other Argument for the proof of this, then that very *Decree* we cited before, where the Council of *Trent* hath declared, that the Fathers did not

Concil. Trident. Sess. 21. c. 4.
Ut enim sanctissimi illi Patres sui facti probabilē causam pro illius temporis ratione habuerunt; ita certē eos nullā salutis necessitate id fecisse, sine controversia tenendum est.

† *Aug. l. 1. de peccat. Mor. & remiss.* Ex antiqua, ut existimo, & Apostolica Traditione Ecclesiæ Christi insitum tenent, præter Baptismum & participationem Dominicæ mensæ, non solum ad Regnum Dei, sed nec ad salutem, & vitam æternam posse quenquam hominum pervenire. Hoc enim & Scriptura testatur, &c. *Ibid. Paulò pñst.* Si ergò, ut tot & tanta divina testimonia concinunt, nec salus, nec vita æterna sine Baptismo, & corpore & sanguine Domini cuiquam spectanda est; frustra sine his promittitur parvulis.

Administer the Communion to Infants, *out of any opinion that it was necessary to Salvation; but did it upon some other Probable Reasons onely.* For, we have not onely very good reason to doubt, whether the Fathers held this opinion, and followed this Practise, as *Probable* onely; but it seemeth besides (with all Reverence to that Council be it spoken,) to appear evidently enough out of their Writings, that they did hold it as *Necessary*. For, do but hear the Fathers themselves; and *S. Augustine* in the first place: who saith, † *That the Churches of Christ hold, by an Ancient, and as I conceive (saith he) an Apostolical Tradition, that without Baptism, and the Communicating of the Lords Table, no Man can come either into the Kingdom of God, or unto Salvation, or Eternal Life.* And afterwards having, as he conceives, proved this out of the Scriptures, he addeth further: *Seeing therefore that no Man can hope either for Eternal Life, or Salvation, without Baptism, and the Body and Blood of Christ,* (thus doth he

call the Sacrament of the Eucharist, according to the language of his Time;) *as hath been proved by so many Divine Testimonies; in vain is it promised to Infants, without the participating of these.* And some three Chapters before, treating of those words of our Saviour in *S. John*,
Except

Except you eat my Flesh, and drink my Blood, you can have no Life in you : which words he understandeth , both there and elsewhere, of the Communicating of the Eucharist ; he makes a long Discourse to prove, that they extend as well to little Infants, as to people of Riper Age.

† Is there any man (saith he,) that dares affirm, that this speech belongeth not to little Infants also ; or, that they may have life in them, without participating of this Body, and of this Blood ? And this is his constant manner of speaking, in eight or ten other Passages in his * Works, w^{ch} are too long to be here inserted. Pope Innocent I, his Contemporary, speaketh also after the same manner ; proving against the Pelagians, that Baptism is Necessary for Infants, to render them capable of Eternal Life ; for as much as, without Baptism they cannot † Communicate of the Eucharist, which is Necessary to Salvation. * S. Cyprian also, long before them, spake to the very same sense : and this † Maldonate affirmeth, to have been the opinion of the six First Centuries. These things considered, we must needs think one of these two things following ; namely, that either the Council of Trent, by its Declaration, hath made that, which hath been, to be as if it never had been ; which is a Power, that the Poet * Agatho in Aristotle would not allow to God himself : or else, that the Fathers of this Council, either out of forgetfulness, or otherwise, mistook themselves in this account of theirs, touching the opinion of the Ancient Church in this Particular : which, in my judgement, is the more favourable, and the more proba-

† Id. Ibid. c. 20. An verò quisquam etiam hoc dicere audebit, quòd ad parvulos hæc sententia non pertineat ; possintque sine participatione corporis hujus & sanguinis in se habere vitam, &c ?

* Id. T. 2. ep. 106. ep. 107. ep. poster. ib. Mar. l. 2. contr. Pel. & Celest. c. 18. l. 1. contr. 2. ep. Pelag. ad Bon. cap. 22. & l. 4. c. 4. l. 1. contr. Jul. & l. 3. c. 1. & c. 12. lib. de Prædest. Sanct. ad Prosp. c. 13. Hypomn. l. 5. & 6. Tract. 120. in Joh. Serm. 32. de verb. Ap.

† Innoc. in ep. ad Milevit. Synod. quæ est inter ep. Aug. 15. Illud verò quod eos vestra fraternitas asserit prædicare, parvulos æternæ vitæ præmiis, etiam sine baptismatis gratia posse donari, persatuum est. Nisi enim manducaverint carnem filii hominis, & biberint sanguinem ejus, non habebunt vitam æternam in semetipsis. Vid. Aug. l. 2. contr. 2. ap. Pelag. c. 4. & lib. 1. contr. Jul. c. 2. * Cyprian. lib. 3. Test. ad Qui. c. 25. † Maldon. in Joan. c. 6. num. 116. Missam facio Augustini, & Innocentii I. sententiam, quæ sexcentos circiter annos viguit in Ecclesia, Eucharistiam etiam Infantibus necessariam.

* Agatho apud Aristot. Eth. ad Nicom. l. 7. c. 2. Μὴν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ θεὸς σελονεται, Ἀλλήντα ποιεῖν δὲ αὐτῷ ἢ περὶ αἰσθημάτων.

ble Conceit of the two : and if so, I shall then desire no more. For, if these great Personages, who were chosen with so much Care, and Circumspection, out of all parts of Christendom, and sent to *Trent*, to deliberate upon, and determine a Business of the greatest Importance in the world; and were directed by the Legats of so exquisite a Wisdom, and digested their Decrees with a judgement so Ripe, and slow-paced, as that there is scarcely any one word in them, but hath its Designe; if after all this, I say, these Men should be found to have erred in this their Inquiry, in affirming, that the Fathers held onely as *Probable*, that which they evidently appear to have held as *Necessary* : If Pope *Pius IV*, with his whole Consistory, consisting of so many Eminent, and Wise Men, hath approved and confirmed this Mistake of theirs; not perceiving it at all : what can we, or indeed what ought we to expect from any other hands, whose soever they be, as touching the Points now controverted betwixt us; in comparison of which, a Man may very well say, that all the Difficulty, that This Matter now spoken of yeeldeth, is nothing at all; wherein notwithstanding this whole Council mistook it self? Where shall we finde a Man, that after this their Failing, can have the courage to adventure upon so Difficult, and so Intricate an undertaking? Who can promise himself success there, where so Great a Council hath failed? The very hope of effecting so weighty a Matter can hardly be excused from the guilt of High Presumption. For, first of all, the Fathers tell us very seldom, in what Degree either of *Necessity*, or Probability, they held their Opinions : and even when they do tell us, their Expressions being such, as we have observed of them, we ought not presently to conclude any thing from them, without first examing the thoroughly. For, many times, when they would recommend unto us such things, as they accounted *profitable* for us; they would speak of them, as if they had been *Necessary* : and so again, to take off our Belief of, and to divert our affections

ctions from such things as they conceived either to be simply False, or otherwise unprofitable for us; they represented them, as the most Detestable, and Pernicious things that could be. *Whosoever fasteth upon the Lords day, or upon any Saturday, except that one Saturday, (He meaneth Easter-Eve,) he is a murtherer of Christ,* said S. Ignatius. Who would not think, hearing these so Tragical Expressions of his, that certainly he was speaking of the very Foundation of the Whole Christian Religion? And yet the business he there speaks of, was only the observation of a certain part of a Positive Law, and which yet (as most are of opinion) was at that time received but by a part onely of the Church; the belief, and observation whereof was so far from being reckoned among those things that were *Necessary*, that it was scarcely placed in the first Degree of *Probability*; and is now at length utterly abolished too. This manner of Discour- sing is very frequently used by *Tertullian*, S. *Ambrose*, and especially by S. *Hierome*; who are all so eager for the side which they take to, that you would think, in reading them, that all those whom they commend, were very Angels; & all those other, whom they speak against, arrant Devils: that whatsoever they maintain, are the very Foundations, and Ground-work of the Christian Religion; and whatsoever they refute, is meer Atheism, and the highest Impiety that may be. Certainly S. *Hierome*, writing to a certain Roman Matron, named *Furia*, who was a Widow, and dissuading her from marrying again, discourseth of this matter in the very same manner, as he would have done in dissuading her from the committing of Murther. And here are we to call to minde again the divers Reasons of the obscurity of the Fathers, and particularly that of their Rhetorick, all which have place in this Particular, rather then in any other. So that there seemeth to be but one only Certain way left us, to discover, in what Degree they placed the Propositions of Christian Doctrine; namely, their *Creeds*, and Expositi-

Ignat. ep. 4. ad Phil. "Εἰ τις Κυριακῷ, ἢ σαββάτῳ νη- στεί, πλη- ἐνδὲς σαββά- τε, ἔτος χρι- στοῦ ἔσθ'.

Hieron. ep. 101 ad Furiam. Tom. I.

ons of their Faith, whether they were General, or Particular ones; and the Determinations of their Councils, and Ecclesiastical Assemblies. For we may very well believe, that they held as *necessary* all such Points, as they made profession of in such a manner, Anathematizing all such, as should deny the same. And by this Rule we may indeed assure our selves, that, they held, as *necessary*, the greatest part of all those Points, wherein we at this day agree among our selves. And some of these we have formerly set down in our Preface: for they are most of them either delivered expressly in their *CreeDs*, or else positively determined in their Councils; and the Contradictors of them there expressly condemned. But yet this Rule will scarcely be of any use at all to us, in the Decision of our present Controversies. For, some of them appear not at all, neither in that *Rule of Faith*, so often mentioned by *Tertullian*, nor in the *Nicen Creed*, nor in that of *Constantinople*, nor in the Determinations of the Council of *Ephesus*, nor yet in those of *Chalcedon*. The first of these Councils Anathematized *Arius*; the second *Macedonius*; the third *Nestorius*; and the fourth *Eutyches*: and yet nevertheless are the several Tenets of these very Men at this day received, and maintained by one side or other. Nay, which is more, the aforesaid Articles do not at all appear neither, in the two following councils; nameiy, the second Council of *Constantinople*, which condemned certain Writings of *Theodorus*, *Theodoretus*, and *Ibas*, as we have touched before; nor yet in the III Council of *Constantinople*, which Anathematized the *Monothelites*, and was held about the year of our Lord DCLXXXI. And yet have these six First Councils (if you will believe the Fathers of the VII,) established, and confirmed all those

Synod. 7. Act. 6

Refut. Synod.

Iconocl. Πάντα

ἃ παρορθεύ-

τα ἐν τῇ κα-

τολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,

καὶ ἐς ἡμέρας,

καὶ ἀρχαίως,

ἐν τῶν ἀρχόντων

χρόνοις, αὐταὶ

(Sex

Synodi Oecumenica)

καὶ ἐβεβαίωσαν,

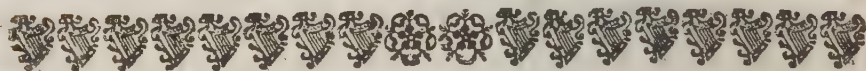
καὶ ἐστήσαν.

things, which had been taught in the Catholick Church, down from the Primitive times, whether by Writing, or by Unwritten Tradition. So that it will hence follow, that

these

these Points, which appear not here in the said six First Councils at all, were not delivered from the beginning, neither in writing, nor otherwise. Only about the Eighth Century, and so for a good while afterward, we finde mention of one of those points now controverted among us, namely that touching Images; which was Diversly and Contrarily determined, in the Councils of *Constantinople*, of *Nicaea*, and of *Francfort*: the Second of these Councils enjoyning the Use, and Adoration of Images; whereas the First had utterly forbid it: and the Last of these Councils taking off, and correcting, as it were, the Excesses of the other Two. What can you say to this, that neither in the Writings of Particular Men, which yet are usually more copious, and fuller, then the Determinations of Councils are, there is so much as any mention made of the said Points? *Epiphanius*, in the conclusion of his *Treatise of Heresies*, gives us two Discourses; in the one whereof he setteth down the Order, Customes, and Discipline of the Church in his time: wherein I must needs say, that there are very many things, which much differ from the Customes that are at this day observed by us, both of the one side, and of the other. In the other is contained an Exposition of the Faith of the Church, set down at large, which he calleth, † *The Pillar of the Truth*, † *Id. Ibid.* τὸ πρῶτον τὸ ἐξέσθημα τῆς ἀληθείας, ἡ ἐλπίς καὶ ἡ βεβαίωσις τῆς ἀφθαρσίας. *the Hope & Assurance of Immortality*. And yet of all those Controversies, which are at this day debated amongst us, you shall there meet with onely one; which is, touching the *Local Descent* of our Saviour Christ into Hell: *Concil. VI. Act. II.* w^{ch} yet is an Article of very small Importance; as every one knowes. In the Acts of the sixth Council we have a Synodical Epistle of *Sophronius*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*; wherein, as the usual custom was, he explaineth the Faith, in a very Large, and Particular manner: and yet notwithstanding you shal not there meet with any of those Points which are now controverted amongst us. Those that shall search more narrowly into the business, will be apt Positively to conclude from this their Silence, that these

Points were not at that-time any part of the Belief of the Church : and certainly this their way of Argumentation seems not to want Reason. But as for my own particular, it is sufficient for me , that it confirmeth the truth of my Assertion ; which is, that it is, if not an Impossible, yet at least a very hard thing, to discover, in what Degree either of *Necessity*, or *Probability*, the Ancient Fathers held each of those Points, w^{ch} are now debated amongst Us ; seeing that they appear not at all, neither in the Expositions of their Faith, nor yet in the Determinations of their Councils ; which are as it were the Catalogues of those Points, which they accounted *Necessary*.



CHAP. IX.

Reason IX. *We ought to know, what hath been the Opinion, not of one, or more of the Fathers, but of the whole Ancient Church : which is a very hard matter to be found out.*

THose who make most account of the Writings of the Fathers , and who urge them the oftneft in their Disputations, do inform us, that the Weight of their sayings in these matters proceeds from hence ; that they are as so many Testimonies of the General Sense, and Judgment of the Church ; to which alone these Men attribute the Supream Power of judging in Controversies of Religion. For if we should consider them severally, each by himself, and as they stand by their own strength onely ; they confess, that they may chance to erre. so that it will follow hence, that to the end we may make use of the Testimonies of the Fathers, it is not sufficient for us to know

know, whether such or such sayings be truly theirs, and if so, what the meaning of them is; but we ought further also to be very well assured, that they are Conformable to the Belief of the Church in their time: in like manner as in a Court of Judicature, the opinion of any single person of the Bench is of no weight at all, as to the passing of judgement, unless it be conformable to the opinion of all the rest, or at least of the Major Part of the Company. And now see, how we are fallen again into new Difficulties. For, whence, and by what means may we learn, whether the whole Church, in the time of *Justin Martyr*, or of *S. Augustine*, or of *S. Hierome* maintained the same opinions in every particular that these Men severally did, or not? I confess that the Charity of these Men was very great; and that they very heartily, and constantly embraced the Body and Substance of the Belief of the Church, in all particulars, that they saw apparently to be such. But, where the Church did not at all deliver it self, and expressly declare what its sense was; they could not possibly, how great so ever their desire of so doing might have been, follow its Authority, as the Rule of their Opinions. Wheresoever therefore they treat of Points which were long since decided, believed, and received, expressly, and positively, by the whole Christian Church, either of their own Age, or of any of the preceding Ages; it is very probable that they did conform to what was believed by the Church: so that, in these Cases, their saying may very well pass, for a Testimony of the judgement, and sense of the Church: it being very Improbable, that they could be either Ignorant what was the publick Doctrine of the Church; or that knowing the same, they would not follow it. As for example, when *Athanasius*, *S. Ambrose*, *S. Hierome*, *S. Augustine*, and others discourse touching the Son of God, they speak nothing but what is conformable to the belief of the Church in General; because that the belief of the Church had then been clearly, and expressly delivered upon this

Point:

Point : so that whatsoever they say, as to this Particular, may safely be received, as a Testimony of the Churches Belief. And the like may be done in all the other Points, which have either been positively determined in any of the General Councils, or delivered in any of the *Creeds*, or that any other way appeareth to have been the publick Belief of the Church. If the Fathers had but contained themselves within these Bounds, and had not taken liberty to treat of any thing, save what the Church had clearly delivered its judgement upon; this Rule might then have been received as a General one; and, what opinion soever we found in them, we might safely have concluded it to have been the sence of the Church that was in their time. But the curiosity of Mans nature, together with the Impudence of the Hereticks, and the tenderness of Conscience, whether of their own, or of others, and divers other reasons perhaps, having partly made them willingly, and partly forced, and as it were constrained them to go on further, and to proceed to the search of the Truth of several Points, which had not as yet been established by the universal and publick consent of all Christians; it could not be avoided, but that necessarily they must in these Inquiries, make use of their own proper Light, and must deliver upon the same their own private opinions; which the Church, which came after them, hath since either imbraced, or rejected. I shall not here stand to prove this my Assertion; since it is a thing that is confessed on all hands; and whereof the *Romanists* make special use upon all occasions, in answering several Objections brought against them out of the Fathers. As, for example, where Cardinal *Bellarmino* excuseth the Error of Pope *John XXII*, touching the state of the *Departed Souls*, before the Resurrection; by saying, that the Church in his time had not as yet determined any thing touching this Particular. And so likewise, where he applies the same Plaster to that (in his judgement) so unsound opinion of Pope *Nicolas I.* who maintained, that Baptism

*Bellarmino. de
Rom. Pont. l. 4.
c. 14. Sect. Re-
spondeo in pri-
mis, &c.*

Baptism, administred in the Name of *Iesus Christ* onely, without expressing the other Persons of the holy Trinity, was notwithstanding valid, & effectual. † *This is a Point* (saith *Bellarmino*,) touching which we finde not the Church to have determined any thing. And, how dangerous, and almost Heretical soever the opinion of those Men seem to him to be, who hold, that the Pope of *Rome* may fall into Heresie; yet doth he permit Pope *Adrian* to hold the same; not daring to rank him among the Hereticks, because that the Church had not as yet Clearly, and Definitively delivered it self, touching this Point. The same *Bellarmino*, in another Controversie of great Importance, touching the *Canonical* Bookes of the Old Testament, finding himself hardly put to it, by his Adversaries urging against him the Authority of *S. Hierome*, who casts *Tobit*, the Book of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the *Macca-bees*, out of the Canon, contrary to the judgement of the Church of *Rome*, which no^t receiveth them in; rids his hands of this Objection, after the same manner. *I confesse* (saith he,) that *S. Hierome* held this opinion, because that no General Councel had as yet ordained any thing touching these Bookes. Seeing therefore it is most clear, both from the confession of our Adversaries, and also by the consideration of the thing it self, that the Fathers have vented in their Writings very many of their own particular opinions, digested out of their own private Meditations, and which they had not learnt in the School of the Church; who sees not, that before we give any certain credit unto their sayings, we ought first to be assured of what Nature they are? Whether they were their own particular opinions onely, or the publick sense of their Age: Since it is confessed by all, that those of the former sort are not alwayes obligatory necessarily; but are such as oftentimes may, and sometimes ought to be rejected, without any scruple at all. You will object perhaps to a Protestant, that *S. Hierome* worshipped the Reliques of Departed *Saints*. How shall I know, (will he reply upon you

† *Id. Ibid. c. 12.*
Señ. Respond.
Nicolaum, &c.
Non invenitur
ulla certa defi-
nitio Ecclesie
de hac re.
Id. Ibid. Señ.
ult. ex his.

you again,) whether this was his private opinion onely, or not? If the Authority of this Father, for want of being grounded upon some publick Declaration of the Church, could not binde *Bellarmino* to receive his opinion, touching the *Canon* of the Old Testament; why should this opinion of his, which is not any whit better grounded then the other, perswade me to the worship of *Reliques*? The same will he reply upon you, and many times with much more appearance of Reason, concerning diverse other Testimonies produced out of the Fathers. So that, whether you would confirm your own Faith, or whether you would wrest out of your Adversaries hand this manner of Reply, and make good all such Allegations; it will concern you to make it clear, concerning any Passage whatsoever, that you shall urge out of a Father, that it is not his own private opinion, but was the opinion of the Church it self wherein he lived: which, in my judgement, is a thing that is as hard, or harder to be demonstrated, then any one of all those things we have yet discoursed of. For, those means, by which we might easily attain to this knowledge, are wanting unto us: and those which we have left us, are very weak, and very little concluding. If the Fathers themselves had but taken so much pains, as to have distinguished betwixt these two sorts of opinions, informing us in every particular case, which were their own private opinions only, and which were taught by the whole Church; or at least had but proposed some of them, as *Doubtful*; and others again, as *Assured Truths*, in like manner as *Origen* hath sometimes done; they would indeed have eased us very much; though, to say the truth, they would not have wholly cured us of our Grief: for as much as sometimes (as we shall hereafter make it appear,) they attribute to the Church those things, which it is most evident that it never held. But they very seldom use to make any such Distinction; but commonly vent their own private opinions in the very same manner, as they do the publick; and

Inf. l. 2. c. 1.

and sometimes also, by reason of the Passion, which these Authors may chance naturally to have been subject unto, be the thing what it will, we shall have them recommending unto us with more eagerness, that which they have conceived, and brought forth themselves, then that which they have received from any other hand: so that we shall meet with very little in them, that may give us any light in this Particular. There would be left us yet another help in this business, by comparing that which they say here and there throughout their Writings, with the Publick Opinions of the Church, which would be a pretty safe and certain Rule to go by, had we any where else besides their Books, any clear and certain evidence, what the Belief of the Church hath been, in each several Age, touching all Points of Religion: and if this were so, we should not then need to trouble our selves with the studying the Writings of the Fathers; seeing that we read them for no other purpose, but onely to discover out of them, what the opinion of Christendom hath bin, touching those Points which are at this day controverted bewixt us. But now there is no Man but knows, that this help is wanting to us. For, setting aside the *Creeeds*, and the Determinations of the six First *General Councils*, and of some few of the *Provincial*, you will not meet with any Piece of this nature, throughout the whole stock of Antiquity. Now, (as we have already made it appear in the preceding Chapter,) the Ancient Church hath not any where declared, neither in its *Creeeds*, nor in the aforesaid *Councils*, what the opinion and sense of it hath been, touching the greatest part of those Points, which are now in dispute amongst us. It followeth therefore, that by this means we shall never be able to distinguish, in the Writings of the Fathers, which were their own private opinions, and which they held in common with the rest of the Church. If we could indeed learn from any creditable Author, that the present Controversies had ever been decided by the Ancient Church; we should

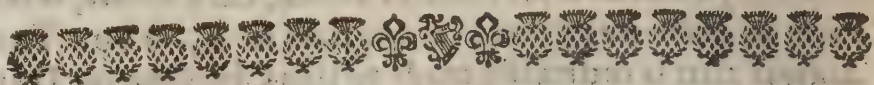
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then readily believe, that the Fathers would have followed this their Decision : and then, although the *Constitutions* themselves should not perhaps have come down to our hands, yet notwithstanding should we be in some sort obliged to believe, that the Fathers who had both seen, and assented to the same, would also have delivered over the sense of them unto us in their Writings. But we meet with no such thing in any Author : but it rather appears evidently to the contrary, through the whole course of Ecclesiastical Story, that these Matters were never so much as started, in the First Ages of Christianity ; so far have they been from being then decided. So that it manifestly appeareth from hence, that if the Fathers of those Primitive times have by chance said any thing of them ; they fetched not what they said from the Determinations of the Church, which had not as yet declared it self touching the same ; but vented rather their own private thoughts and opinions. Neither will it be to any purpose to object here, that the Testimonies of many Fathers together do represent unto us the sense of the Church, although the voice of one or two single persons onely is not sufficient to do the same. For, not to answer, that that which hath hapned to one, may have hapned to many others ; and, that if some particular persons chance to have fallen upon some particular opinions, possibly others may either have accompanied, or else have followed them in the same : I say further, that this Objection is of no force at all in this Particular. For, seeing that the Church had not as yet declared its opinion publicly, touching the Points at this day controverted ; it is as impossible that Many together, that lived in the same time, should represent it unto us, as that one single person should. How could they possibly have seen that, which lay as yet concealed ? How could they possibly measure their Belief by such a Rule, as was not yet visible to the World ? The *Chiliasm* alleage the Testimonies, not of one, nor of two, but of a very great number of the most eminent,

Eminent, and the most Ancient among the Fathers, who were all of their opinion; as we shall see hereafter. The Answer, that is ordinarily made to this Objection, is, That the Church having not as yet declared its sense touching this Point, the Testimonies of these Men bind us not to believe the same: which is an evident Argument, that a great number, in this case, signifies no more then a small, in the representing unto us, what the belief of the Church hath been; and that it is necessary, that either by some General Council, or else by some other publick way, it must have declared its judgement touching any Question in debate; that so we may know whether the Fathers have been of the same judgement, or no. So that according to this Account, we are to raise up again the whole Ancient Church, and to call it to account, touching every of these particular Points now debated, touching which the Testimonies of the Fathers are alleaged; it being Impossible otherwise to give any certain judgement, whether that which they say be their own private, or else the publick Opinion; that is to say, whether it be fit to be believed, or not. So that any Man, that is but of the meanest judgement, may easily perceive how that it is not onely a Difficult, but also almost an Impossible thing, to gather out of the Writings of the Fathers so much Light, as is necessary we should have, for our satisfaction in matters of so great Importance.

Lib. 2: c. 4. sub. fin.



C H A P. X.

Reason 10. *That it is a very hard matter to know, whether the opinions of the Fathers, touching the Controversies of these Times, were received by the Church Universal, or but by some part of it onely: which yet is necessarily to be known, before we can make use of any Allegations out of them.*

BUT suppose that a Father, relieving us in this Difficult, or rather Impossible business, should tell us in expresse terms, that what he proposeth, is the sense, and opinion of the Church in his time; yet would not this quite deliver us out of the doubtful condition we are in. For, besides that their words are many times, in such cases as these, liable to exception, suppose that it were certainly, and undoubtedly so; yet would it concern us then to examine, what that Church was, whereof he speaketh; whether it were the *Church Universal*, or onely some *Particular Church*; and whether it were that of the whole World, or that of some City, Province, or Countrey onely. Now that this is a matter of no small importance is evident from hence; because that the opinions of the *Church Universal* in Points of Faith are accounted Infalible, and necessarily True: whereas those of Particular Churches are not so, but are confessed to be subject to Error. So that the Question being here touching the *Faith*, which ought not to be grounded upon any thing, save what is Infalibly True; it will concern us to know, what the judgement of the *Church Universal* hath been; seeing the opinion of no Particular Church can do us any service in this case. And, that this Distinction is also otherwise,

therwise very necessary, appears evidently by this; because that the opinions, and customes, which have been commonly received by the greatest part of Christendom, have not alwayes presently taken place in each Particular Church; and again, those which have been received in some certain Particular Churches, have not been entertained by all the rest. Thus we finde in story, that the Churches of *Asia minor* kept the Feast of *Easter* upon a different day from all the other parts of Christendom: and although the business it self seems to be of no very great Importance, yet did it nevertheless caule a world of stir in the Church; *Victor*, Bishop of Rome, by reason of this little Difference, excommunicating all *Asia minor*. Now each party here alleaged their Reasons, and *Apostolical Tradition* for what they did; speaking with so great confidence in the justification of their own opinion, as that hearing them severally, a Man would verily believe, that each of their opinions was the very sense of the whole Church; which notwithstanding was but the opinion of one part of it onely. The greatest part of Christendom held the *Baptism of Hereticks* to be good, and effectual; and received all those, who forsaking their Heresie, desired to be admitted into the Communion of the Church, without re-baptizing them; as appears out of *S. Cyprian*, who confesseth that this had also been the custom formerly, even in the *African Churches* themselves. And yet notwithstanding *Fir- milianus*, Archbishop of *Casaria* in *Cappadocia*, testifies, that the Churches of *Cappadocia* had time out of minde believed, and practised the contrary; and had also in his time so declared & ordained, together with the Churches of *Galatia*, and *Cilicia*, in a Full Synod, held at the City *Iconium*. And about the same time also *S. Cyprian*, and the Bishop of *Africk* fell upon the same business, & embraced this opinion of *Rebaptization of Hereticks*. The Acts of the Council held at *Carthage* are yet extant; where you have 87 Bishops, who with one unanimous consent established

Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 23. 24. p. 55. Cod. Grac.

Cypr. ep. 71. & ep. 75. quæ est Firmil. ep. ad Cypr. quæ est 75. inter ep. Cypr. Cæterum nos veritati & consuetudinem jungimus; & consuetudini Romanorum, consuetudinem, sed veritatis, opposimus; ab initio hoc tenentes, quod à Christo, & ab Apostolis traditum est.

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the same. The Custom at *Rome* in *Tertullians* time, was, to receive into the Communion of the Church all Fornicators, and Adulterers, after some certain Pennances, wch they enjoyned them. *Tertullian*, who was a *Montanist*, exclaimed fearfully against this custom, and wrote a Book expressly against it; which is also extant among his Works at this day. Who now, that should read this Piece of his, would not believe that it was the General opinion of all Catholicks, that such sinners were not to be excluded from Pennance, and the Communion of the Church? And yet for all this it is evident, out of a certain Epistle of *S. Cyprian*, that even some of the Catholick Bishops of *Africa* were of the contrary perswasion: and the Jesuite *Petavius* is further of opinion, that this Indulgency was not allowed, nor practised in the Churches of *Spain*, till a long time after; and, that the Ancient Rigour, which excluded for ever such Offenders from the Communion of the Church, was in practise among them, till the time of *Pacianus*, Bishop of *Barcellona*, who left not any hopes of Ecclesiastical Absolution, either to Idolaters, Murtherers, or Adulterers; as may be seen in his *Exhortation to Repentance*. In the year of our Lord 364, the Council of *Laodicea* ordained, that none but the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament should be read in Churches, giving us withal a Catalogue of the said Books, which amount in all, in the Old Testament, to the number of twenty two onely; without making any mention at all of those other Books, which Cardinal *Perron* calls *Posthumous*, namely *Ecclesiasticus*, the Book of *Wisdom*, the *Maccabees*, *Judith*, and *Tobit*. All the canons of this Council were afterwards inserted into the *Code* of the Church Universal; where you have this very Canon also, *Num.* 163. that is as much as to say, they were received, as Rules of the Catholick Church. Who would believe now, but that this Declaration of the Canon of the Scriptures was at that time received by all Christian Churches? And yet notwithstanding you have

*Cypr. ep. ad
Anton.*

*Pacian. Paran.
ad Poenit. T. 3.
Bibl. PP. p. 71.
Concil. Laodic.
can. 59. in Cod.
Eccles. univers.
163.*

have the Churches of *Africk*, meeting together in the † *Concil. Karthage*, about the year of our Lord 397. and ordaining quite contrary to the former Resolution of *Laodicea*, that among those Books which were allowed to be read in churches, the *Maccabees*, *Judith*, *Tobit*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the Book of *Wisdom*, (which two last they also reckon among the Books written by *Solomon*,) should be taken into the number. Who knoweth not the Difference that there was, in the First Ages of Christianity, betwixt the Eastern and the Western Churches, touching the * *Fasting* upon *Saturdaies*; the Church of *Rome* maintaining it as Lawful, and all the rest of the World accounting it unlawful? Whence it was, that we had that so

† *Bold Canon* passed in the Council at *Constantinople*, in *Trullo*, in these words: *Understanding, that in the City of Rome, in the time of the Holy Fast of Lent, they fast on Saturdayes, contrary to the Custome, and Tradition of the Church; it seemeth good to this Holy Council, that in the Roman Church, they Inviolably also observe that Canon, which saith; that, whosoever shall be found to Fast either upon the Lords day, or upon the Saturday, (excepting onely that one Saturday,) if he be a Clergy man, he shall be deposed; but if he be of the Laity, he shall be excommunicated.* Who knoweth not, af-

† *Can. Synod. Quinisext. Can. LV.* Ἐπεὶ δὴ μεμαθήκαμεν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις τῆς πενταετακοστῆς νηστείας τοῖς ταύτης σάββασι νηστεῖν, παρὰ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀκολουθίαν. ἔδοξε τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ, ὥστε κρατεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπαγορεύειν τὸν κανόνα τὸν λέγοντα, Εἰ τις κληρικὸς ἀρνηθεῖν τῇ ἀγίᾳ Κυριακῇ νηστεῖων, ἢ τὸ σάββατον, πλὴν τῆ ἐνός καὶ μόνου, καθαιρεῖται ἐκ τῆς λαϊκῆς, ἀφορίζεται.
* *Iren. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 5. cap. 26.*

ter how many several wayes the Fast of *Lent* was Anciently observed in divers Churches; an account whereof is given you by *Irenaeus*, in that Pious * *Epistle* of his, which he wrote to *Victor*; part whereof *Eusebius* lettereth down in his *Ecclesiastical History*? Who doth not also know, that the opinions, and expressions of the Greek Church, touching *Free-will*, and *Predestination*, are extremely different, from what the Church believed, and taught in *S. Augustines* time, and so downward? And as concerning the *Discipline* of the Church, do but hear

Anastajius

Anastasius Bibliothecarius, upon the VI Canon of the VII General Council, which enjoyneth all Metropolitans to hold Provincial Synods once a year. † Neither let it

† *Anastas. Biblioth. ad Can. 6. Conc. 7. Gener.* Nec te moveat, si hanc definitionem minimè nos habemus : cum & earum nonnullas, quas inter Canones habemus, in auctoritatem non recipiamus ; sicut quasdam ex Conciliis. Aliæ namque apud Græcos tantum, aliæ verò apud certas tantum provincias in observantiam Ecclesiarum assumuntur : sicut Laodicensis Concilii 16, & 17 Regulæ, quæ apud Græcos tantum servantur : & Africani Concilii 6, & 8. capitula, quæ nulla provincia servare, nisi Africana, dignoscitur.

at al trouble thee, (saith he) that we have not this Decree ; seeing that there are some others found among the Canons, whose Authority neverthelesse we not admit of. For, some of the are in force, & are observed in the Greek Church ; and others again in certain other Provinces onely. As for example, the XVI and XVII Canons of the Council of Laodicea are observed onely among the Greeks ; and the VI, and the VIII Canons of the Council of Africk, are received by none, but the Africans onely. I could here produce divers other Examples ; but these may suffice, to shew, that the Opinions, and Cu-

stomes, which have been received in one Part of the Church, have not alwayes been entertained in all the rest. Whence it evidently follows, that all that is acknowledged, as the opinion, or observation of the Church, ought not therefore presently to pass for an Universal Law. The Protestant alleageth, for the justifying his Canon of the Scriptures, the Council of *Laodicea*, before mentioned. Thou answerest him perhaps, that this indeed was the opinion of the Churches ; but it was only of some particular Churches. I shall not here enter into an Examination, whether this Answer be well grounded, or not : it is sufficient for me, that I can safely then conclude from hence, that according to this account, before you can make use of any Opinion, or Testimony out of any of the Fathers, it is necessary, that you first make it appear, not only that it was the opinion of the Church at that time ; but you must further also clearly demonstrate unto us, what Churches opinion it was ; whether of the Church Universal, or else of some Particular Church onely. It is objected against the Protestants, that *Epiphanius* testifieth

testifieth, that the Church admitted not into the higher Orders of the Ministry, any save those that were *Vir-* *Epiphan. Har.*
59. Tom. 1.
gins, or professed Continency. Now to make good this Allegation, it is necessary that it be first proved, that the Church he there speaks of, was the Church Universal. For (will the Protestant reply upon you,) as *Laodicea* hath had, as it seems, a particular opinion, touching the *Canon* of the Scriptures; possibly also *Cyprus* may in like manner have had its particular Resolutions, touching the *Ordination of the Clergy*. The like may be said, of the greatest part of those other Observations, and opinions of the Ancient Church. Now how difficult a business it will be, to clear these matters, which are so full of perplexity; and to distinguish of Antiquity, at this so great a distance of Time, severing that which was *Publick* from what was *Particular*, and that which was *Provincial*, from what was *National*, and what was *National* from that which was *Universal*, any Man may be able to give some kinde of guess; but none can thoroughly understand, save he that hath made trial of it. Do but fancy to your selves a City, that hath lain ruined a thousand years, no part whereof remains, save onely the ruines of Houses, lying all along here and there confusedly; all the rest being covered all over with Thorns, and Bushes. Imagine then that you have met with one, that will undertake to shew you precisely, where the Publick Buildings of the City stood, and where the Private; which were the stones that belonged to the one, and which belonged to the other: and, in a word, who in these confused Heaps, where the Whole lyes all together, will notwithstanding separate ye the one from the other. The very same Task in a manner, doth he undertake, who ever shall go about, truly, and precisely to distinguish the opinions of the Ancient Church. This *Antiquity* is now of Eleven, or Twelve hundred years standing: and the Ruines of it are now onely left us, in the Books of the Writers of that Time; which also have met with none of the best enter-
V tainment,

*Hieron. Ep. 28.
ad Lucinum.
Unaquæque
Provincia a-
bundet in
sensu suo, &
præcepta ma-
jorum leges
Apostolicas
arbitretur.*

tainment in their passage through the several Ages down to our time; as we have shewed before. How then dare we entertain the least hope, that amidst this so great Confusion, we should be able yet to distinguish the Pieces; and to tell, which of them honoured the *Publick Temple*, and which went to the furnishing of *Private Chappels* onely? especially considering, that the *Private* ones have each of them ambitiously endeavoured to make their own pass for *Publick*. For where is the Province, or the City, or the Doctor, that hath not boastingly cried up his own opinions, and Observations, as *Apostolical*? and which hath not used his utmost endeavour, to gain them the repute of being *Universal*? *S. Hierome* allows every particular Province full liberty to do herein as they please. *Let every Province* (saith he) *abound in its own sense; and let them account of the Ordinances of their Ancestors, as of Apostolical Laws.* It is true indeed, that he speaks in this place onely of certain Observations of things, which are in themselves indifferent. But yet, that which he hath permitted them in these matters, they have practised in all other. I shall not here trouble myself to produce any other Reasons, to prove the Difficulty of this Inquiry; because I shou'd then be forced to repeat a great part of that, which hath been already delivered. For if it be a very hard matter to attain to any certain knowledge, what the sense of the Writings of the Fathers is, as we have proved before; how much more difficult a thing will it be, to discover, whether their opinions were the opinions of the particular Churches wherein they lived, or else were the opinions of the Church Univerfal in their Age; the same things, which cause obscurity in the one, having as much, or rather more reason of doing the like in the other. And if you would fully understand, how painful an undertaking this is; do but read the Disputations of the Learned of both Parties, touching this Point; where

where you shall meet with so many Doubts, and Contradictions, and such diversity of opinions, that you will easily conclude, that this is one of the greatest Difficulties, that is to be met withal, throughout the whole study of Antiquity.



C H A P. XI.

Reason XI. That it is Impossible to know exactly, what the Belief of the Ancient Church, either Universal, or Particular, hath been, touching any of those Points, which are at this day controverted amongst us.

BEfore we pass on to the Second Part of this Treatise, it seemeth not Impertinent to give the Reader this Last Advertisement, and to let him know, that though all these Difficulties here before represented were removed, yet notwithstanding would it still be Impossible for us to know certainly, out of the Fathers, what the judgement of the whole Ancient Church, whether you mean the Church Vniversal, or but any considerable part thereof, hath been, touching the Differences which are now on foot in Religion. Now that we may be able to make the truth of this Proposition appear, it is necessary that we should first of all explain the Terms.

We understand commonly by the *Church*, (especially in these Disputations) either all those Persons in General, who profess themselves to be of the said Church, of what Condition or Quality soever they be; or else, in a stricter sense, the Collective Body of all those, who are set over, and who are Representatives of the Church; that is to say, the *Clergy*. So that whether you speak of the Church Vniversal, or of

some Particular Church, as, for example, that of *Spain*, or of *Carthage*, this term may be taken in either of these two senses. For, by the Church Vniversal, we understand either all those persons in general, who live in the communion of the Christian Church, whether they be of the *Laity*, or of the *Clergy*; or else, those persons onely who are *Ecclesiastici*, or Church-men, as we Now call them. For, in the Primitive Times, all Christians that lived in the communion of the Catholicks, were called *Ecclesiastici*. In like manner, by the Church of *Carthage*, is meant either Generally, All the Faithful that live in the particular communion of the Christian Church of *Carthage*; or else particularly, and in a stricter sense, the Bishop of *Carthage*, with his whole *Clergy*. Now I do not believe that there is any Man, but will easily grant me, that if we take the Church in the First sense, it is impossible to know, by way of Testimony given of the same, what the sense and judgement of it hath been in each several Age, touching all the Points of Christian Religion. We may indeed collect, by way of Discourse, what hath been the belief of the True Members of the Church. For there being some certain Articles, the belief whereof is necessarily requisite for the rendring a Man such an one; whosoever rightly understands, which these Articles be, he may certainly conclude, that the True Church, whether Vniversal, or Particular, hath believed the same. But now, in the first place, this doth not extend to all the Points of Christian Religion, but onely to those which are *Necessary*: besides which, there are divers others, concerning which we may have not onely different, but even contrary judgements too; and yet not thereby hazard the losse either of the communion of the Church, or of our inheritance of everlasting salvation. So then, this Ratiocination concludeth not, save onely of those, who are the True Members of the Church. For as for those, who make but an outward profession onely of the Truth, it being not at all necessary that they should be
saved

saved, there is in like manner no more necessity of their embracing those beliefs, which are requisite for that end. They may, under this Mask, hide all manner of opinions, how Impious soever they be. Lastly, that which makes most for our purpose is, that this knowledge is acquired by Discourse, whereas we speak here of such a knowledge, as is collected by the hearing of several Witnesses, who give in their Testimonies touching the thing which we would know. Now the Fathers having written with a purpose of informing us, not what each particular Man believed in their time; but rather what they thought fit that all Men should have believed; we must needs conclude, that certainly they have not told us all, that they knew, touching this particular. And consequently therefore, partly their Charity, and partly also their Prudence, may have caused them to pass by in silence all such opinions, either of whole Companies, or of Particular Persons, as they conceived to be not so consonant to the Truth. But supposing that they had not any of these considerations, and that they had taken upon them to give us a just Account, each Man of the opinions of his particular Church wherein he lived; it is evident however, that they could never have been able to have attained to the end of this their Designe. For, how is it possible that they should have been able to have learnt, what the opinion of every single person was, amongst so vast a multitude, which consisted of so many several persons, who were of so different both Capacities, and Dispositions? Who will believe, that *S. Cyprian*, for example, knew all the several opinions of each particular person in his Diocese, so as to be able to give us an account of the same? Who can imagine, but that among such a Multitude of people, as lived in the Communion of his Church, there must needs have been very many, who differed in opinion from him, in diverse Points of Religion? Even at this very day, that we may not trouble our selves to look so high, we see by experience, that there is scarcely that
Parish

Parish to be found, how small soever it be, where there are not particular persons that maintain, in many points of Religion, different opinions from those of their Minister. But if we take a whole Dioces together, and pass by all those who trouble themselves not at all with the difference of opinions in Religion, whether it be by reason of their want of years, or their weakness of judgement, or their malice; and take notice onely of the rest, dividing them according to the difference of their opinions; I am verily perswaded that that part, which shall agree in all Points with the Bishop of that Dioces, will many times be found to be the least. Let a Bishop preach, or write what he will, touching the points which are now in controversie; he will very hardly represent unto you the judgement of half the people of his Dioces. Now we must conceive, that the temper of the World of old was no other, then what it is at this present day: and therefore also, for this very reason, the liberty of embracing what opinions a Man pleased was much greater Then, then it is now; for as much as the Church of *Rome* did not exercise its power then throughout Christendom so Absolutely as it doth now a dayes: neither did the Pastors, or the Princes use that severity, and rigour, which is now every where practised in our dayes, for the repressing this diversity of opinions. We must therefore necessarily believe, that the opinions of the Faithful were in those dayes altogether as Different, if not much more, then they are now. Whence it will also follow, that even the Doctors themselves, who lived in those times, could not know all the different opinions of Men, much less could they represent them unto us in their Writings. But we shall not stand any longer upon a thing, that no Man can deny us: but shall rather proceed to the consideration of that, which every one no doubt will be ready here to reply upon us, touching this particular; namely, that it is not necessary that we should know the opinions, in Points of Religion, of all particular persons,

which

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which are almost Infinite in number, and for the most part very ill grounded, and uncertain : but that it is sufficient, if we know what the Belief hath been of the *Pastors*, and those that have been set over the Church ; that is to say , of the Church taken in the latter sense. But yet I confess, I do not see, that this Rule is so absolutely right, as that we ought to walk by it. For, if we are to take the Church for the Rule, and Foundation of our Faith , (as the Authors of this Reply pretend we ought to do,) the *People*, in my judgement, ought not then to be here excluded, and passed by, as a thing of no consideration. I confess, the opinions of particular persons are very different one from the other ; and the knowledge of some of them is very mean , and sometimes also is none at all. But yet possibly this Reason may chance to exclude even a good part of the *Clergy* also, from the Authority which they lay claim to in this particular ; being it cannot be denied, but that both Ignorance and Malice have oftentimes as great a share here , proportionably, as they have among the very *People* it self. Who sees not, that, if we must have regard to the Capacity of Men, there are sometimes found, even among the plain ordinary sort of Christians in a Church, those that are more considerable, both for their Learning and Piety, then the Pastors themselves?

† One of those *Fathers*, of whom we now discourse, hath informed us, *That many times the Clergy have erred, the Bishop hath wavered in his opinion, the Rich Men have adhered in their judgement to the Earthly Princes of this World ; mean while the People alone preserved the Faith entire.* Seeing therefore that it may sometimes happen, and that it hath also many times hapned, that the *Clergy* have held Erroneous opinions, while the *People* only held the True, it is very evident, in my judgement, that the opinion of the *People* in these cases ought not wholly to be neglected. And truly S. *Cyprian* telleth us in divers places, that the Church in his time had the *People* in very great esteem ; no businesse of any Importance

† *Ambros. Ser.*
17. T. 4. p. 725.
Plerumque
Clerus erravit : Sacerdotum nutavit sententia : divites cum sæculi istius terrenore Regesenserunt ; Populus fidem propriam reservavit.

* *Cypr. in Conc.
Carthag. p. 397*
Præsente eti-
am plebis
maximâ par-
te.

Importance being then transacted, without communicat-
ing the same to the *People*; as may be seen by any one,
in the Epistles of this Father: in so much that, * *The*
greatest Part of the people also were present, at the Council
of Carthage, where the Question, touching the *Baptism*
of Hereticks, was debated; whereof we have already
spoken somewhat a little before. But because this Point
is still controverted, I shall let it alone for this time. Let
us therefore grant, (since our Adversaries will needs have
it so,) that it is sufficient in this case to know, what the
belief was of the *Church*, taken in the later and stricter
sense; that is to say, of the *Clergy*: for even this way it
is evident enough, that it is a very hard, if not an impos-
sible thing, truly to discover what it hath been, in each
several Age. For, there is no less Diversity of opinion
among the *Clergy*, then there is among the *People*: and
many times too there is much more; the being conver-
sant in Books ordinarily reducing things into nicer sub-
tilities, and giving occasion of raising divers opinions up-
on the same. Who is he that will undertake to give us
an Account, what the opinion is of all the *Clergy* of one
City onely; I do not say of a Kingdom, or of all Chri-
stendom; touching all the Articles of Religion? Who
would be able to perform this, if he should undertake it?
Never was there more exact care taken, for the conser-
vation of Vniformity in judgement among Christians,
then is now at this day; when there is use made, not on-
ly of the Censures and Thunderbolts of the *Church*, but
even of the Fire and the Sword of the *Secular Powers* al-
so. And yet notwithstanding all this, how many Eccle-
siastical persons are there to be found, even in those very
places, where these rigorous courses are observed with
the greatest strictness, even at *Rome* it self, and as it were
in the Popes own bosom, who differ very much in judge-
ment touching Points of Religion, both from their Equals
and from their Superiours? In *France*, where by the
blessing of God, the Liberty of Conscience is much
greater

greater then in other places, it would be a wonder, if, where Four Clergy Men of the more Learned, and Politest were met together, Two of them should not, upon some Point or other of the Faith, differ in judgement from the Main Body of their Church. And here I am to intreat all those who follow *Cassander* in great numbers, adoring the Monuments of the Fathers, and who take whatsoever they finde in him, for the General Sense of the Ancient Christians, but to turn their eyes back a little upon themselves, and to consider, how many opinions they themselves hold, which are not onely different, but even quite contrary too to the Church, in the Communion whereof they live, and of which they profess themselves to be Members, and by which indeed they subsist. The Difference is here so great, as that it seems to be, as it were, one State within another State, and one Church within another Church. And yet notwithstanding, when any of the Doctors of that Party, to which they adhere, deliver unto us, either in their Definitions, or in their Sermons, or in their Books, the common Sense, & Judgment of their Church, this Intermixture of Opinions is quite laid aside, and appears not at all. They speak onely of the opinions of others, passing by those of *Cassander*, which are contrary to them, in silence, as if they did not at all concern the Church of *Rome* neither more nor lesse : and yet it is very well known unto us, even to us who live at this very day, that they are favoured, and maintained by very many of the most Eminent Persons of the *Roman Clergy* it self. And if this senseless Sect, who forsooth think themselves much more refined in their opinions then the rest of the Body whereof they are a part, should chance in time either to fail of it self, or to be suppressed by force ; their Memory would so utterly come to nought, as that Posterity would not know any thing of their Belief, but only by conjecture. Every one will then believe, that the

X

Church

Church of *Rome* at this time precisely held to the Doctrine and Opinions that he reads in the Decrees of *Trent*, and in other the like Books : and yet notwithstanding we both know, and see, that among those very Persons, which have been Anointed, Consecrated, and Preferred also by the said Church, there is a Party that dissenteth from It in judgement, touching divers Important Articles of Faith. Let us therefore reckon, that the Ancient Church had also its *Cassanders*, and very many even among the Clergy it self, who held many opinions which were different from that which was the common Belief of the Church, and which it hath at length by little and little sunk, as it were, under water, and wholly swallowed up, so that now there is not any Tract of them left us. Christianity was either different in the Ancient times from what it is now, or else it was the same. If it was Different, it is then a Piece of meer Sophistry, to endeavour to make it seem to be the same; and a very great Abuse, to produce unto us, for this purpose, so many several Testimonies out of Antiquity. If it were the same, it must then without all doubt have produced the same Accidents, and have sown the same seeds of diversity of opinions in the spirits of its Clergy. Those opinions and observations which now give offence to the *Cassandrists*, would then also have offended some persons or other, that were endued with the like Moderation. For we are not to conceive, but that those First Ages of Christianity brought forth Spirits, that were as much, and more refined and delicate, then ours have done. But that we may insist upon this particular no longer, it is sufficient for me, that I have thus clearly made it appear, that in the Ancient Church, the whole Clergy of a City, or of a Nation, much less of the whole World, had not necessarily one and the same sense and opinion, touching Points of Religion. So that it will follow

follow from hence, that we cannot know certainly, whether those opinions which we meet withal in the Fathers, were received by all and every of the Pastors of the Church at that time, or not. All that you can gather thence is but this at the most; that they themselves, and some others perhaps of the most eminent amongst them (if you please,) maintained such or such opinions: in like manner, as that which *Bellarmino*, and others have written, touching the Sacrament of the Eucharist, will inform Posterity, that these Men, and many others of our time, held these opinions in the Church of *Rome*. But as those who shall conclude from the Books of these Authors, that there is at this day no other opinion maintained, among the *Clergy* themselves of the Church of *Rome*, touching this Particular, would very much abuse themselves; so is it much to be feared that we in like manner deceive ourselves, when, from what we finde in Two or Three of the Fathers, we conclude, that there was at that time no other opinion held in the Christian Church, touching those Points whereof they treat, save that which they have delivered. It is a very hazardous business, to take Eight or Ten Men, how Holy and Learned soever they may have been, as *Sureties* for all the Doctors of the Church Universal, that lived in their Age. This is too little *Security*, for so great a Sum.

Now there are Two things, which may be objected against that which we have before delivered. The First is, that if there had been in Antiquity any other opinions touching the Points now in Debate, which had been different from those which we now meet with in the Books, either of all the Fathers, or at least of some few of Them; they would then both have mentioned, and also refuted them. But we have already heretofore answered this Objection, by saying, that the Fathers forbore to speak any thing of this Diversity of opini-

on, partly out of Prudence, lest otherwise they might have provoked the Authors of the said opinions, which were contrary to their own; and so might increase the Difference, instead of appeasing it: and partly also out of Charity; mildly bearing with that, which they accounted not any whit dangerous. I onely speak here of those Differences in opinion, which they knew of: for there might be a great number of others, which they knew not of. Who can oblige you to believe, that a Monk, for example, that had retired into a Corner, and as it were forsaken the World, professing onely to instruct a smal number of Men and Women in the Rules of Devotion, must needs have known, what the opinions in Points of Religion of all the Prelates of his Age were? Who will pass his word unto us, in his behalf, that he doth not sometimes reprove that in some Men, which yet the Church allowed in an infinite number of others? Who will warrant us, that all Christendom in his time embraced all his opinions, and had no other of their own? *Possevine* answering an Objection made by some, touching the Works of *Dionysius the Areopagite*, which *S. Hierome* hath made no mention of at all, saith; that it is no great marvel, that a Man that lay hid in a Corner of the World, should nor have seen this Book, which the *Arrians* endeavoured to suppress. May not a Man with as much reason say, that it is no great wonder, if *S. Hierome*, or *Epiphanius*, or any other the like Authors, who were taken up all of them with their particular Charges, and Employments, did not know of some opinions of the Prelates of their Age; or that either their Modesty, or their Charity, or the little Eloquence, and Repute they had abroad, might have made them conceal the same?

*Possevine in
Appar.*

The other Objection is drawn from hence, because that these Doctors of the Ancient Church, who held some opinions different from those which we read at this day

day in the Fathers, did not publish them at all. But, I answer first of all, that every Man is not able to do so. In the next place, those that were able, were not alwayes willing to do so. Diverse other Considerations may perhaps also have hindred them from so doing: and if they are Wise, and Pious Men, they are never moved, till they needs must. And hence it is, that oftentimes those opinions, which have less truth in them, do yet prevail; because that *Prudence*, which maintains the True Opinion, is Milde, and Patient: whereas *Rashnesse*, which defends the False, is of a Froward, Eager, and Ambitious Nature. But now let us but imagine, how many of the Evidences of this Diversity of opinion may have been made away, by those several wayes before represented by us; as namely having been either devoured by Time, or suppressed by Malitious Men; for fear lest they should let the World see the Traces of the Truth, which they would have concealed? But that I may not be thought to bring here onely Bare Conjectures, without any proof at all, I shall produce some Examples also, for the confirming, and clearing of this my Assertion.

Epiphanius maintains against *Aerius*, whom he ranks among his *Heresiarchæ*, or *Arch-Hereticks* that a *Bishop*, according to the Apostle Saint *Paul*, and the Original Institution of the thing it self, is more then a *Priest*: & this he endeavours to prove in many words, answering all the Objections, that are made to the contrary. If you but reade the Passage, I am confident that when you had done, you would not stick to swear, that what he hath there delivered, was the General opinion of all the Doctors of the Church; it being very unlikely, that so Great, and so Renowned a Prelate would so flatly have denied the opinion which he disputed against, if so be any one of his own familiar friends had also maintained the same. And yet for all this, Saint *Hierome* who

Epiph. in Panar. Her. 75.

who was one of the Principal Lights of our Western Church, and who lived at the same time with *Epiphanius*, who was his intimate Friend, and a great admirer of his

† *Hieron. Ep. 83. ad Ocean. Tom. 2.* Quanquam apud veteres iidem Episcopi & Presbyteri fuerint: quia illud nomen dignitatis est, hoc ætatis.

Id. ep. 85. ad Evagr. Tom. 2. Cum Apostolus perspicue doceat, eosdem esse Presbyteros, quos & Episcopos, &c.

Id. Com. in Ag. Tom. 5. p. 512.

Et Com. in Tit. Tom. 6. p. 443. Fused.

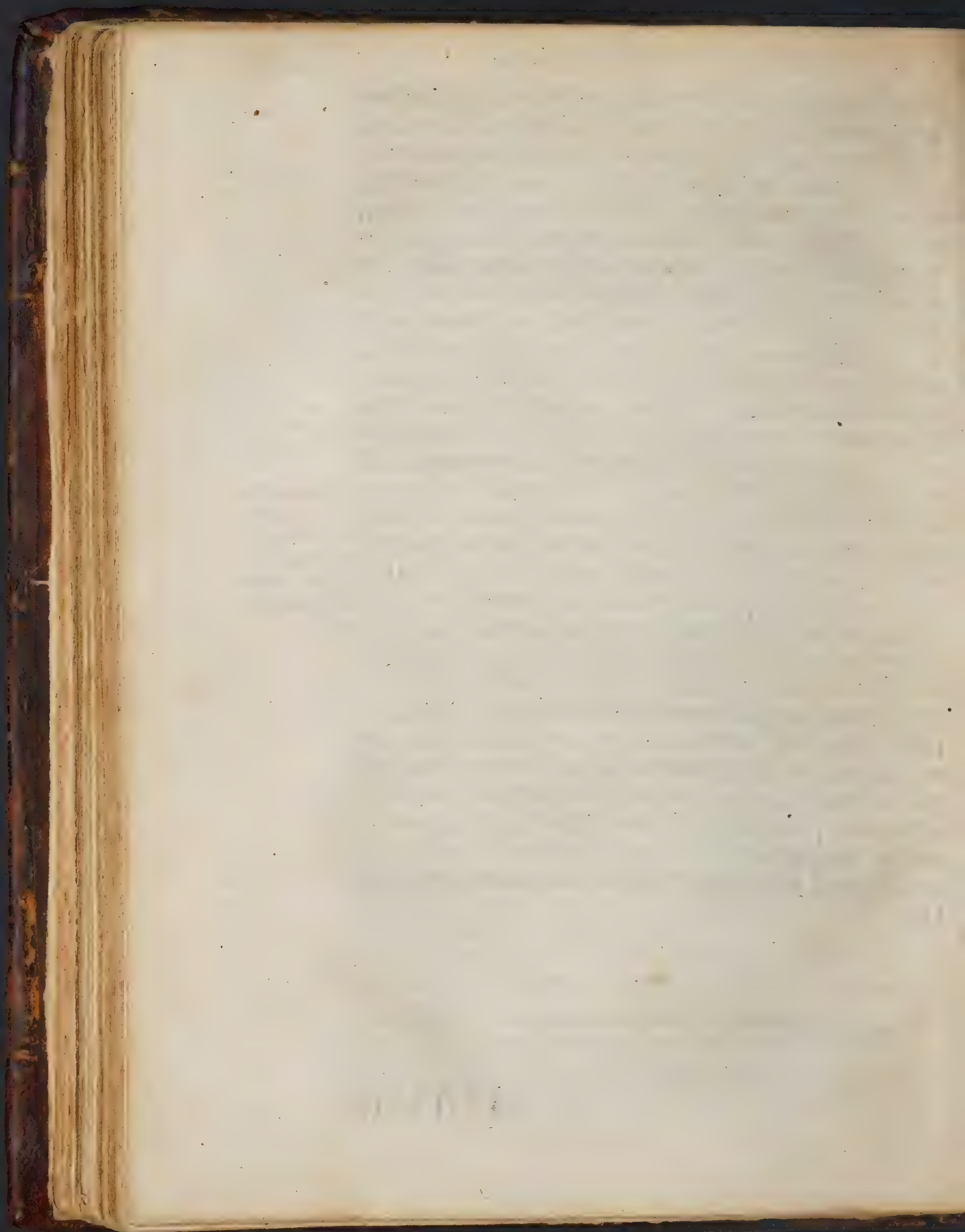
Piety,) saith expressly, † that *Among the Ancients, Bishops, and Priests, were the same; the one being a name of Dignity, and the other of Age.* And that it may not be thought, that this fell from him in discourse onely, he there falls to proving the same at large, alleaging several Passages of Scripture, touching this Particular; and he also repeats the same thing, in two or three several places of his Works.

Whereby it evidently appears, that even Positions which have been quite Contradictory to the opinions which have been delivered, and maintained by some of the Fathers, and proposed in what terms soever, have notwithstanding been sometimes either maintained, or at least tolerated by some others of no less Authority. *S. Hierome* himself hath fallen extreemly foul upon *Ruffinus*, and hath traduced diverse of his opinions, as most Pernicious and Deadly: and yet notwithstanding we do not any where finde, that ever he was accounted as an Heretick, by the rest of the Fathers. But we shall have occasion hereafter to consider more at large of the like Examples; and shall onely at present observe, that if those Books of *S. Hierome*, which we mentioned a little before, should chance to have been lost; every Man would then assuredly have concluded with *Epiphanius*, that no Doctor of the Ancient Church ever held, that a *Bishop* and a *Priest* were one and the same thing, in its Institution.

Who now after all this will assure us, that among so many other opinions, as have been rejected here and there by the Fathers, and that too in as plain terms, as these of *Epiphanius*, none of them have ever been defended by some of the Learned of those times? Or, is it not possible that they may have held them, though they did

not

not write in defence of the same? Or, may they not perhaps have written also in defence of them, and their Books have been since lost? How small is the number of those in the Church, who had the Ability, or at least the Will to write? And how much smaller is the number of those, whose Writings have been able to secure themselves, against either the Injury of Time, or the Malice of Men? It is objected against the Protestants, as we have touched before, that S. *Hierome* commendeth, and maintaineth the Adoration of *Relicks*: But yet he himself testifieth, that there were some *Bishops*, who defended *Vigilantius*, who held the contrary opinion; whom he, according to his ordinary Rhetorick calleth * *His Consorts in Wickedness*. Who knows now, what these Bishops were; and whether they deserved any such usage at S. *Hieromes* * *Hier. in Vig. I. 2. p. 159.* hands, or no? For, the Expressions which he useth against them, and against their opinion, are so full of Gall, and of Choler, as that they utterly take away all credit from his Testimony. But we have insisted long enough upon this Particular, and shall therefore forbear to instance any further in others. For as much therefore as it is Impossible to discover exactly, out of the Fathers, what hath been the sense and judgement of the Ancient Church, whether taken Universally or Particularly; or whether you take the Church for the whole *Body of Believers*, or for the *Prelates* and *Inferiour Clergy* only; I shall here conclude, as formerly, that the Writings of the Ancients are altogether Insufficient, for the proving the Truth of any of those Points, which are at this day controverted amongst Us.



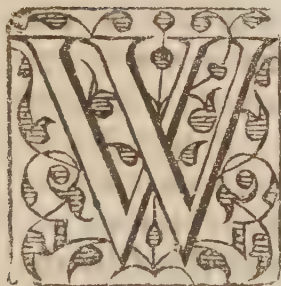


The Second Book.

CHAP. I.

*That the Fathers are not of sufficient Authority,
for the Deciding of our Controversies in Reli-
gion.*

*Reason 1. That the Testimonies given by the Fa-
thers, touching the Beliefe of the Church, are
not always True, and Certain.*



WE have before shewed, how hard
a matter it is, to discover what the
sense of the Fathers hath been, touch-
ing the Points at this day controver-
ted in Religion; both by reason of
the small number of Books we have
left us, of the Fathers of the First
Centuries; and those too which we
have, treating of such things as are of a very different na-
ture from our present Disputes; and which besides we
cannot be very well assured of, by reason of the many
Forgeries, and monstrous corruptions, which they have
for so long a time been subject to; as also by reason of

their Obscurity, and Ambiguity in their expressions ; and their representing unto us many times the opinions rather of others, then of their Authors : besides, those many other Imperfections which are found in them ; as namely, their not informing us, in what degree of Faith, we are to hold each particular Point of Doctrine ; and their leaving us in doubt, whether what they teach, be the judgment of the Church, or their own private Opinion only : and whether, if it be the judgment of the Church, it be of the Church Universall, or of some particular Church only. Now, the least of these Objections is sufficient, to render their Testimony Invalid : And again, on the other side, that it may be of force, it is necessary, that it be cleerly, and evidently free from all these Defects ; for as much as the Question is here, touching the Christian Faith, which ought to be grounded on nothing, save what is sure, and firme. Whosoever therefore would make use of any passage out of a Father, he is bound first to make it appear, that the Author, out of whom he citeth the said Passage, lived, and wrote in the first Ages of Christianity ; and besides, that the said person is certainly known, to be the Author of that Book, out of which the said passage is quoted : and moreover, that the passage cited is sincere, and no way corrupted, nor altered : and likewise, that the sense which he gives of it, is the true Genuine sense of the place ; and also, that it was the opinion of the Author, when he was now come to Ripeness of judgment, and which he changed not, or retracted afterwards. He must also make it appear, in what degree he held it ; and whether he maintained it, as his own private Opinion only, or, as the Opinion of the Church : and Lastly, whether it were the Opinion of the Church Universall, or of some Particular Church only : which inquiry is a business of so vast, and almost infinite labour, that it makes me very much doubt, whether or no we can be ever able to attain to a full, and certain assurance, what the Reall Positive sense of the Ancients hath been, touching

ing the whole Body of Controversies, now debated in this our Age. Hence therefore our principall Question seems to be decided ; Namely, whether the alledging of the Fathers be a sufficient and proper meanes, for the demonstrating the Truth of all those Articles, which are at this day maintained by the Church of *Rome*, and rejected by the Protestants, or not. For who doth not now see, that this kinde of proof hath as much, or more difficulty in it, then the Question it self ? and that such Testimonies are as Obscure, as the Controverted Opinions themselves : Notwithstanding, that we may not be thought too hastily, and upon too light grounds to reject this way of proceeding, we will pass by all that obscurity that is found, touching the Opinions of the Ancients ; and supposing it to be no hard matter to discover, what the Opinion, and sense of the Fathers hath been, touching the aforesaid Points ; we will now in this second Book consider, whether or no their Authority be such, as that we ought, or may, without further examination, believe on their score, what we know them certainly to have believed, and to hold it in the same degree that they did.

There are two sorts of Passages to be observed, in the Writing of the Fathers : In the one, you have them speaking only as *Witnesses*, and testifying, what the belief of the Church was, in their Time : In the other, they propose to you, like *Doctors*, their own Private Opinions. Now, there is a world of difference, betwixt these two things : For in a *Witness*, there is required only *Faithfullness*, and Truth ; but in a *Doctor*, *Learning*, and Knowledge. The one perswadeth us, by the opinion we have of his Ueracity ; the other, by the strength of his Arguments. The Fathers are *Witnesses* only, when they barely tell us, that the Church in their times held such, or such Opinions : and they are then *Doctors*, when getting up, as it were, into the Chaire, they propose unto us their own Opinions ; making them good either out of the

Scripture, or out of Reason. Now as concerning the Testimonies that they give, touching the Faith held by the Church in their time; I know not, whether we ought to receive all they bring, for certain Truths, or not: But this I am sure of, that though they should deserve to be received by us for such, yet nevertheless would they stand us in very little stead, as to the business now in hand. The Reason which moveth me to doubt of the former of these, is, because I observe that those very men, who are the greatest Admirers of the Fathers, do yet confess, that although they erre very little, or not at all, in matter of *Right*, yet nevertheless they are often out, and have their failings in matter of *Fact*: because that *Right* is an Univerfall thing, which is every way Uniform, and all of one sort; whereas, matter of *Fact* is a thing which is mixed, and as it were enchased with divers particular Circumstances; which may very easily escape the knowledge of, or at least be not so rightly understood, by the most clear and piercing Wits. Now, the condition of the Churches Beliefe, in every particular Age, is matter of *Fact*, and not of *Right*; and a point of History, and not an Article of Faith: So that it followeth hence, that possibly the Fathers may have erred, in giving us an account hereof; and that therefore their Testimonies, in such Cases, ought not to be received by us, as infallibly True: Neither yet may we be thought hereby, to accuse the Fathers of falsehood. For, how often do the honestest persons that are, innocently testifie such things as they thought they had seen, which it afterwards appeareth that they saw not at all? for goodnesse renders not men infallible. The Fathers therefore, being but Men, might both be deceived themselves in such things; and might consequently also deceive those, who have confided in them, though innocently, and without any design of doing so. But besides all this, it is very evident, that they have not been wholly free from Passion neither; and there is no man but knows, that Passion very often

often disguiseth things, and maketh them appear, even to the honestest men that may be, much otherwise then they are, insomuch that sometimes they are affectionately carried away with one opinion, and do as much abhor another. Which secret Passion might easily make them believe, that the Church held that Opinion, which they themselves were most taken with; and that it rejected that, which they themselves disliked: especially, if there were but the least appearance, or shadow of Reason, to incline them to this Belief. For men are very easily persuaded to believe what they desire. I conceive, we may hereto impute that Testimony of *St. Hierome*, where he affirms, * That the Churches of Christ

held, that the souls of men were immediately created by God, at the instant of their entrance into the Body. And yet notwithstanding, that doubt which *St. Augustine* was in, touching this Particular, and his inclining manifestly to the contrary Opinion; which was, that the soul was propagated together with the body, and descended down from the Father, to the Son; this doubt, I say, of his, manifestly proveth, that the Church had not as yet at that time embraced, or concluded upon the former of these Opinions: it being a thing utterly improbable, that so modest a Man as *St. Augustine* was, would have cast off the generall opinion of the Church, and have taken up a particular Fancy of his own. But the Passion wherewith *St. Hierome* was at that time carried away, against *Ruffinus*, a great part of the Learned men of his time being also of the said Opinion, easily wrought in him a believe, that it was the common judgment, and opinion of the whole Christian Church. From the same Root also sprung that Error of *John*, Bishop of

* *Hier. Ep. 61. de Error. Jo. Hier.*
Omne deinceps humanum genus quibus animarum censetur exordis? utrum ex traduce, juxta bruta animalia, &c. an rationabiles creaturæ desiderio corporum, &c. an certe, quod Ecclesiasticum est, quotidie Deus fabricetur animas: cujus velle fecisse est, & conditor esse non cessat?

Id. Apol. 2. contr. Ruff. Miraris si contra te fratrum scandala concitentur; cum id nescire te jures, quod Christi Ecclesiæ scire fatentur?

Thessa-

Joan. Thessal. in Concil VII. Act. 5.
 ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ κεκοινωνημένη
 ἐκκλησία γινώσκει, & μὴ ἀσω-
 μήτως πάντα καὶ ἀόρατα, λεπτο-
 σώματα ἢ καὶ ἀερώδεις, ἢ πυ-
 ραῖδες.

Ibid. in Marg.
 Lequitur ex
 propria sen-
 tentia.

* *Concil. VII.*
Act. 5.

* *Petavi. in*
Epiphan. pag.
354.

Petav. in Epiphan. p. 113. 143 145.

* *Beda lib. de Temp. rat. c. 45.* Habet enim,
 nisi fallor, Ecclesiæ fides, Dominum in
 carne paulo plus minus quam XXXIII
 annis, usque ad suæ tempora Passionis
 vixisse. *Mox.* Sancta siquidem Romana &
 Apostolica Ecclesia hanc se fidem tenere
 & ipsis testatur indiculis, quæ suis in cereis
 annuatim inscribere solet, ubi tempus
 Dominicæ Passionis in memoriam populis
 revocans, numerum annorum triginta
 semper & tribus annis minorem quam
 ab ejus Incarnatione Dionysius ponit, an-
 notat. *Id. ibid.* Nam quod Dominus XV
 Luna, feria VI, crucem ascenderit, &c.
 nulli licet dubitare Catholico.

Thessalonica, (if at least it be an error;) who affirmed, That the Opinion of the Church was, that Angels are not Wholly Incorporeall, and Invisible; but that they have Bodies, though of a very Rare and thin Substance; not much unlike

those of the Fire, or the Aire. For those who published the Generall Councils at Rome, conceive this to have been his own private opinion only: * And if so, (neither shall we need at present, to examine the truth of this their conceit;) you then plainly see, that the affection this Author bare to his own Opinion, carried him so far away, as to make him father upon the whole Church, what was indeed but his own particular opinion: though otherwise he were a man, who was highly esteemed by the VII Council; * which not only citeth him among the Fathers, but honours him also with the Title of a Father. *Epiphanius* must also be excused in the same manner; where he assures us, that the Church held by *Apostolicall Tradition*, the custome which it had, of meeting together thrice a week, for the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist: which yet * *Petavius* maketh evidently appear, not to have been of *Apostolicall Institution*. The Mistakes of Venerable *Bede*, noted and censured else-

where by * *Petavius*, are of the same Nature also: * *The Beliefe of the Church, if I mistake not* (saith he) *is, that our Saviour Christ lived in the flesh Thirty three years, or there about, till the time of his Passion: and he saith moreover, That the Church of Rome testifieth, that this is Its Beliefe, by the Marks which they yearly set upon their Tapers, upon good Friday; whereon they alwaies inscribe a number of years,*

years, which is less by Thirty three, then the common Æra of the Christians. He likewise saith in the same place, That it is not lawfull for any Catholick to doubt, whether Jesus Christ suffered on the Cross the XV day of the Moon, or not. Now Petavius hath proved at large, that both these Opinions, which Beda delivers unto us, as the Churches Belief, are nothing less then what he would have them. * The Curious Reader may observe many the

* Petav. in
Epiphan. p.
113. 143.

like Carriages, in the Writings of the Fathers : but these here already set down in my judgment, do sufficiently justify the doubt which I have made ; namely, that we ought not to receive as Certain Truths, the Testimony which the Fathers give, touching the Beliefe of the Church in their time. Nevertheless, that we may not seem to make a breach upon the Honour, and Reputation of the Fathers, I say, that though we should grant, that all their Depositions, and Testimonies in this particular were certainly, and undoubtedly True ; yet notwithstanding would they be of little use to Us, as to our present purpose. For, first of all, there are but very few Passages, wherein they testify plainly, and in direct terms, what the Beliefe of the Church in their time hath been, touching the Points now controverted amongst us. This is the business of an Historian, rather then of a Doctor of the Church ; whose Office is to teach, to prove, and to exhort the people committed to his Charge, and to correct their Vices, and Errors ; telling them what They ought to do, or Believe, rather then troubling them with discourses of what is done, or Believed by others. But yet when they do give their Testimony, what the Beliefe and Discipline of the Church in their time was ; this Testimony of theirs ought not to extend, save only to what was apparently such, and which besides was apparent to themselves too. Now, as we have formerly proved, they could not possibly know the sence, and Opinions of every particular Christian that lived in their time ; nor yet of all the Pastors, and Ministers, who were set over them : but of some certain.

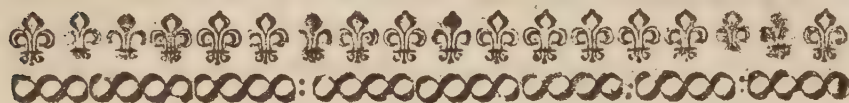
tain Particular Christians only. For as much therefore as it is confessed, even by those very men who have the Church in greatest Esteem, that the Belief of Particular Churches is not infallible; we may very easily perceive, that such Testimonies of the Fathers as these, can stand us in very little or no stead; seeing they represent unto us such Opinions, as are not always certainly, and undoubtedly True; and which consequently are so far from confirming, and proving Ours, as that they rather stand in need of being examined, and proved themselves. But yet, suppose that the Church of *Rome* did hold, that the Beliefs of Particular Churches were Infallible; (which yet it doth not,) yet would not this make any thing at all against the Protestants, for as much as they are of the clean contrary Opinion. Now, it is taken for granted on all hands, that Proofes ought to be fetched from such things as are confessed, and acknowledged by your Adversary, whom you endeavour to convince; otherwise you will never be able to move him, or make him quit his former Opinion. Seeing therefore, that the Testimonies of the Fathers, touching the State of the Faith, and Ecclesiasticall Discipline of their times, are of this Nature: it remaineth, that we now consider their other Discourses; wherein they have delivered themselves, not as *Witnesses*, deposing what they had seen, but as *Doctors*, instructing us in what they believed: And certainly, how Holy and Able so ever they were, it cannot be denied but that they were still Men; and consequently were subject to Errour, especially in matters of Faith, which is a business so much transcending Humane Apprehension. The Spirit of God only was able to direct their Understandings, and their Pens in the Truth, and to withhold them from falling into any Errour: in like manner as it directed the Holy Prophets, and Apostles, while they wrote the Books of the Old and New Testament. Now, we cannot be any way assured, that the Spirit of God was present always with them, to enlighten their Under-

Vnderstandings, and to make them see the Truth of all
 those things whereof they wrote. They neither pretend
 to this themselves, nor yet doth any one, that I know of,
 attribute unto them this Assistance, unless it be perhaps * *Gloss. in*
 the Author of the *Gloss* upon the *Decrees*, * who is of *Decr. D. 9 c. 3.*
 Opinion, that we ought to stand to all that the Fathers *Hodie juben-*
 have written, even to the least title: who yet is very just- *tur omnia te-*
 ly called to a round account for this, by * *Alphonfus à* *neri, usque ad*
Castro, and * *Melchier Canus*, Two Spanish Doctors. * *ultimum iota.*
 For as much therefore, as we are not bound to believe any * *Alphonf. à*
 thing, save that which is True; it is most evident, that *Castro. l. 1. ad-*
 we neither may, nor ought to believe the Opinions of the *vers. Her. c. 7.*
 Fathers, till such time as they appear to us to have been * *Melch. Ca-*
 certainly True. Now, we cannot be certainly assured of *nus l. 7. loc.*
 this, by Their Single Authority; seeing that they were but *Theol. c. 3.*
 Men, who were not always inspired by the Holy Spirit *Num. 4.*
 from above: and therefore it is necessary, that we make
 use of some other Guides in this our Inquiry; namely, ei-
 ther of the Holy Scriptures, or of Reason, or of Tradi-
 tion, or of the Doctrine of the Present Church, or of
 some other such means, as they themselves have made use
 of: So that it hence follows, that their Bare Assertions,
 are no sufficient Ground for us to build any of our Opini-
 ons upon: they only serve to encline us before hand to
 the Beliefe of the same; the great opinion which we have
 of them, causing us to conclude, that They would never
 have embraced such an Opinion, except it had been True.
 Which manner of Argumentation how ever is, at the best,
 but Probable; so long as the Persons we have here to do
 withall, are only Men, and no more: and in this particular
 Case, where the Question is, touching Points of Faith,
 it is by no means in the world to be allowed of; since that
 Faith is to be grounded, not upon Probabilities, but upon
 necessary Truths. The Fathers are like to other great
 Masters in this Point, and their Opinions are more, or
 less Valid, in proportion to the Reason, and Authority,
 whereon they are grounded: only they have this Advan-

Aristot. in
Ethic. l. 1. c. 6.
ἀμφοῖν ὄντων
φιλοῖν, ὅσον
ὡς πᾶν τῷ
ἀλλήδειν.

tage, that their very Name begets in us a readiness, and inclination, to receive whatsoever comes from them; while we think it very improbable, that so Excellent men as they were, should ever believe any thing that was False. Thus in Humane sciences, the saying of an *Aristotle* is of a far different Value, from that of any other Philosopher of less Account; because that all men are before hand possessed with an Opinion, that this Great Philosopher would not maintain any thing, that was not consonant to Reason. But this is *Prejudice* only: for if upon better examination, it should be found to be otherwise, his Bare Authority would then no longer prevail with us; what himself had sometime gallantly said, would then here take place; namely, *That it is a sacred thing, always to preferre the Truth, before Friendship.* Let the Fathers therefore if you please, be the *Aristotles* in Christian Philosophy: and let us have a Reverent esteem of Them and their Writings, as they deserve; and not be too rash in concluding, that Persons of so eminent both Learning, and Sanctity, should maintain any Erroneous, or vain Opinions, especially in a matter of so great Importance: Yet notwithstanding are we bound withall to remember, that they were but Men, and that their Memory, Vnderstanding, or Judgment, might sometimes fail them; and therefore consequently, that we are to examine their Writings, by those Principles from whence they draw their Conclusions; and not to sit down upon their Bare Assertions, till such time as we have discovered them to be True. If I were to speak of any other Persons then of the Fathers, I should not add any thing more, to what hath been already said, it having been already, in my judgment, cleerly enough proved, that they are not of themselves of Authority enough, to oblige us necessarily to follow their Opinions. But seeing the Question here is, touching these great Names, which are so highly honoured in the Church; to the end that no man may accuse us of endeavouring to rob them of any of the Respect which is due unto them, I hold

hold it necessary to examine this business a little more exactly, and to make it appear, by considering the thing it self, that they are of no more Authority, neither in Themselves, nor in respect of Us, then hath been already by Us attributed unto them.



CHAP. II.

Reason 2. That the Fathers themselves testifie against themselves, that they are not to be believed Absolutely, and upon their Own bare Word, in what they deliver in matters of Religion.

There is none so fit to inform us, what the Authority of the Writings of the Ancients is, as the Ancients themselves, who in all Reason must needs know this better then we : Let us therefore now hear, what they testifie in this Particular ; and if we do indeed hold them in so high Esteem, as we make profession of, let us allow of their Judgment in this particular, attributing neither more nor less unto the Ancients, then they Themselves require at our hands. St. *Augustine*, who was the Principall Light of the Latine Church, being entred into a Contestation with St. *Hierome*, touching the Interpretation before mentioned, of the second Chapter of the Epistle of *Saint Paul* to the *Galatians* ; and finding himself hardly pressed, by the Authority of sixe, or seven Greek Writers, which were urged against him by the other ; to rid his hands of them, he was fain to make open profession, in what account he held that sort of Writers :

* *August. Ep. ad Hier. quæ est 19. T. 2. fol. 14. Ed. Paris. 1579. & inter Op. Hier. 97. T. 2. p. 551.* Ego enim fateor Caritati tuæ, solis eis Scripturarum libris, qui jam Canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem, honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissimè credam. Ac si aliquid in eis offendero litteris, quod videatur Contrarium Veritati, nihil aliud quam mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse, non ambigam. Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate, doctrinaque præpollcant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt, sed quia mihi, vel per illos Authores Canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod à vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt. Nec te, mi frater, sentire aliquid aliter existimo: proisus inquam, non te arbitror sic legi libros tuos velle, tanquam Prophetarum vel Apostolorum, de quorum scriptis, quod omni errore careant, dubitare nefarium est.

or lastly, that I my self have not so rightly understood Him. But as for a' other Writers, how Eminent soever they are, either for Sanctity, or Learning, I reade them so, as not presently to conclude, whatsoever I there finde, to be True, because They have said it; but rather, because they convince me, either out of the said Canonick Books of Scripture, or else by some Probable Reason, that what they say is True. Neither do I think, Brother, that thou thy self art of any other Opinion: that is to say, I do not believe that thou expectest that we should read thy Books, as we do those of the Prophets, or Apostles; of the Truth of whose Writings, as being exempt from all Error, we may not in any wise doubt. And having afterwards opposed some other the like Authorities, against those alleaged by St. Hierome,

* *Id. ibid.* Quamquam, sicut pau'ò antè dixi, tantummodo Scripturis Canonicis hanc ingenuam debeam servitutem, quæ eas solas ita sequat, ut conscriptores earum nihil in eis omnino errasse, nihil fallaciter posuisse non dubitem.

* I confess (saith he) to thy Charity, that I only owe to those Books of Scripture, which which are now called Canonick, that Reverence and Honour, as to believe stedfastly, that none of their Authors ever committed any Error in Writing the same. And if by chance I there meet with any thing, which seemeth to contradict the Truth, I presently think, that certainly either my Copy is Imperfect, and not so Correct as it should be; or else, that the Interpreter did not so well understand the Words of the Originall:

he addeth, That he had done so, notwithstanding, that to say the truth, he accounted the Canonick Scriptures only to be the Books, to which (as he said before) he owed that

that ingenuous Duty, as to be fully perswaded, that the Authors of them never erred, or deceived the Reader in any thing. This Holy man accounted this Advise to be of so great Importance, as that he thought fit to repeat it again, in another place; and I must intreat my Reader, to give me leave to set down here the whole Passage at length. * *As for these kinde*

of Books. (saith he, speaking of those Books which We Write, not with Authority of Commanding, but only out of a Design of exercising our selves, to benefit others;) *we are so to read them, as not being bound necessarily to believe them, but as having a liberty left us, of judging of what we read. Yet notwithstanding, that we may not quite shut out these Books, and deprive posterity of the most profitable labour of exercising their Language, and Style, in the handling and treating of hard Questions; we make a Distinction betwixt these Books of Later Writers, and the Excellency of the Canonick Authority of the Old and New Testament; which having*

* *Id. l. II. contr. Faust. c. 5.* Quod genus litterarum, non cum credendi necessitate, sed cum iudicandi libertate legendum est. Cui tamen ne intercluderetur locus, et adimeretur posteris ad difficilis quæstiones tractandas atque versandas, linguæ, ac styli saluberrimus labor, distincta est a posteriorum libris excellentia Canonice Auctoritatis Veteris et Novi Testamenti; quæ Apostolorum confirmata temporibus, per successiones Episcoporum, et propagationes Ecclesiarum, tanquam in sede quadam sublimiter constituta est, cui serviat omnis fidelis, et pius intellectus. Ibi si quid velut absurdum moverit, non licet dicere, Auctor hujus libri non tenuit veritatem: sed, aut Codex mendosus est, aut Interpres erravit, aut tu non intelligis. In Opusculis autem posteriorum, quæ libris innumerabilibus continentur, sed nullo modo illi sacratissimæ Canonicarum scripturarum excellentiæ corquantur, etiam in quibuscumque eorum invenitur eadem veritas, longè tamen est impar auctoritas. Itaque in eis, si qua forte propterea dissonare putantur a vero, quia non, ut dicta sunt, intelliguntur, tamen liberum ibi habet lector, auditorque iudicium quo vel approbet quod placuerit, vel improbet quod offenderit: et ideo cuncta ejusmodi, nisi vel errata ratione, vel ex illa Canonica auctoritate defendantur, ut demonstretur sive omnino ita esse, sive fieri potuisse, quod vel disputatur ibi, vel narratum est, si cui displicuerit, aut credere voluerit, non reprehenditur.

been confirmed in the Apostles time, hath since by the Bishops, who succeeded them and the Churches, which have been propagated throughout the world, been placed as it were upon a high Throne, there to be revered and adored, by every Faithfull and Godly Vnderstanding. And if we
chance

chance here to meet with any thing that troubleth us, and seemeth Absurd, we must not say, that the Author of the Book was ignorant of the truth; but rather, that either our Copy is false, or the Interpreter is mistaken in the sense of the place; or else, that we understand not him aright. And as for the Writings of those other Authors, who have come after Them, the number whereof is almost infinite, though comming very far short of this most sacred Excellency of the Canonickall Scriptures; a man may sometimes find in them the very same truth, though it shall not be of equall Authority. And therefore if by chance we here meet with such things as seeme contrary to the Truth, by reason perhaps of our not understanding them only; we have our Liberty, either in reading, or hearing the same, to approve of what we like, and to reject that which we conceive not to be so right. So it' at except all such passages be made good, either by some certain reason, or else by the Canonical Authority of the Scriptures; and that it be made appear, that the thing asserted either really is, or else at least, that it might have been; he that shall reject, or not assent to the same, ought not

Id. T. 2. Epist. 48. ep. 111. T. 3. l. 1. 3. de Trinit. c. 2. l. 3. prefat. l. 5. c. 1. T. 7 l. 2. contr. crescon. Gram. c. 31. & c. 32. l. 2. de Bapt. contr. Don. c. 3. l. 3. de Peccat. mer. & rem c. 7. c. 1. de Nat. & grat. c. 61. l. 4. contr. de ep. Pelag c. 8. l. 1. contr. Julian. c. 2. l. de ben. persever c. 21. in any wise to be reprehended. And thus far have we *S. Augustine* testifying on our side, (as well here, as in many other places, which would be too long to be inserted here;) that those opinions which we find delivered by the Fathers in their Writings, are grounded, not upon their bare Authority, but upon their Reasons; and, that they binde not our belief otherwise, then so far forth as they are consonant either to the Scripture, or to Reason; and that they ought to be examined by the one, and the other as proceeding from persons that are not infallible, but possibly may have erred.

So that it appears from hence, that the course which is at this day observed in the world, is not of sufficiency enough for the discovery, and demonstration of the truth. For, we are now in doubt, suppose, what the sence and meaning is of such a piece of Scripture. Here shall you presently have the judgment of a Father brought, upon the said

said

said place; quite contrary to the Rule S. *Augustine* giveth us, who would have us examine the Fathers by the Scriptures, and not the Scriptures by the Fathers. Certainly, according to the judgment of this Father, the Protestant, though a Passage as clear and expresse, as any of the Canons of the Council of *Trent*, should be brought against him, out of any of the Fathers, ought not to be blamed, if he should answer, that he cannot by any means assent unto it, unless the truth of it be first proved unto him, either by some Certain Reason, or else by the authority of the Canonical Scriptures; and that then, and not till then, he shall be ready to assent unto it. So that according to this account, we are to alledg, not the Names, but the Reasons of Books; to take notice, not of the Quality of their Authours, but of the Solidity of their Proofs; to consider what it is they give us; and not the face, or hand of him that gives it us; and, in a word, to reduce the dispute, from Persons, to Things. And S. *Jerome* also seemeth to commend unto us this manner of Proceeding, where in the Preface to his second Commentary upon *Hosea*, he hath these words: *Then* (saith he, that is, after the Authours of Books are once departed this life;) *we judge of their Worth, and parts onely; not considering at all the Dignity of their Name: and the Reader bath regard onely to what he reads, and not to the Authour whose it is. So that whether he were a Bishop, or a Lay man; a General and a Lord; or a common Souldier, and a Servant; whether he lye in Purple and in Silk; or in the vilest and coursest raggs; he shall be judged, not according to his degree of honour, but according to the merit and Worth of his Works.* Now he here speaks either of matter of Right, or of Fact: and his meaning is, that either we ought to take this Course in our Judgments; or else it is a plain Affirmation, that it is the practise of the world so to do. If his words are to be taken in the

Hier. Com. 2. in Oseam, Præfat.
Tunc sine nominum dignitate, sola judicantur ingenia; nec considerat, qui lecturus est, cujus, sed quale sit quod lecturus est, sive sit Episcopus, sive sit laicus, Imperator & Dominus, miles & servus, aut in purpura, & serico, aut vilissimo panno jaceat, non honorum diversitate, sed operum merito judicabitur.

the first sense, he then clearly takes away all Authority from the bare Names of Writers, and so would have us to consider the Quality onely, and weight of their Writings, that is to say, their Reasons, and the force of the Arguments they use. If he be to be understood in the second sense, he seemeth not to speak truth; it being evident, that the ordinary course of the world is, to be more taken with the titles and names of books, then with the things therein contained. But supposing however, that this was *S. Hieromes* meaning; we may notwithstanding very safely believe, that he approveth of the said course; for as much as having this occasion of speaking of it, he doth not at all reprehend it. If therefore thou hast any minde to stand to his judgment, lay me aside the Names of *Augustine*, and of *Hierome*, of *Chrysostome*, and of *Cyrl*; and forget for this once the Rochet of the first, and the chair of the second, together with the Patriarchal Robe of the two last: and observe what they say, and not what they were: the ground and reason of their opinions; and not the dignity of their persons. But that which makes me very much wonder, is, that some of those who have been the most conversant in antiquity,

Card. Perron,
of the Eucha-
rist. Aut. 20.

* *Hier. ep. 62.*
ad Theoph. A-
lex. Scio me
aliter habere
Apostolos; a-
liter reliquos
tractatores:
illos semper
vera dicere;
istos in qui-
budam, ut
homines, er-
rare,

should trouble themselves in stuffing up their books with declamatory expressions, in praise of the Authors they produce; not forbearing to recount to you so much as the Noblenesse of their Extraction, the choisenesse of their Education, the gallantry of their Parts, the eminency of their See, and the greatnesse of their State. This manner of writing may perhaps suit well enough with the precepts of Rhetorick: but sure I am, that it agreeth ill enough with *S. Hierom's* rule, which we gave you a little before. But let us now observe, out of some other more clear, and expresse passages of his, what the judgment of this great *Aristarchus*, and *Censor* of Antiquity hath been, touching this Point. * *I know* (saith he, writing to *Theophilus*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*,) *that I place the Apostles in a distinct rank from all other Writers: for as*
for

for them, they alwaies speak truth : but as for those other they erre sometimes, like men as they were. What could

he have said more expresly, in confirmation of our assertion before laid down ? * There are others

(saith he,) both Greeks, and Latines, who have erred also in prints of faith : whose names I need not here set down, least I might seem to defend Origen, by the errors of others rather, then by his own worth. How then

can we confide in them, unless we examine their opinions by their reasons ? † I shall (saith the same Authour,) read

Origen, as I read others ; because I finde he hath erred, in like manner as they have done. And in another place speaking in general of Ecclesiastical Writers ; that is, of those

which we now call Fathers, and of the faults and errors that are found in their books. * It may be (saith he) that

either they have erred out of meer ignorance, or else, that they wrote in some other sense, then we understand them ; or that their Writings have by degrees been corrupted, through the Ignorance of the Transcribers ; or else, before the appearing of that impudent divel, Arius, in the world, they let some things fall from them innocently, and not so warily as they might have done ; and such, as can hardly escape the cavils of wrangling spirits. Which passage of his, is a very excellent, and remarkable one ; and containeth in it a brief, yet a

clear, and full justification of the greatest part of what we have hitherto delivered, in this our discourse. Do but think therefore with how much circumspection we are to read, and to weigh these Authours ; and how careful we ought to be in examining, in their Books, whether there be not either some fault committed by the Transcriber, or some Obscurity in the Expression, or some negligence in the Conception, or lastly, some error in the Proposition. In an other place, having set down the opinions of several

C c

Authours,

* Id. ep 65. ad Pamm. & Oceanum. Erraverunt in fide alii, tam Græci, quam Latini, quorum non necesse est proferre nomina, ne videamur eum, non sui merito, sed aliorum errore defendere.

† Id. ibid. Sic eum legam, ut ceteros ; quia sic erravit, ut ceteri.

* Hier. l. 2. Apol. contra. Ruff. Fieri enim potest, ut vel simpliciter erraverint, vel alio sensu scripserint, vel a Librariis imperitiis eorum paulatim scripta corrupta sint ; vel certe antequam in Alexandria quasi dæmonium meridianum Arius nasceretur, innocenter quædam, & minus caute loquuti sunt, & quæ non possint peruersorum hominum calumniam declinare.

Authors, touching a Certain Question that had been proposed unto him, that so the Reader might make choise of the best; he gives this reason of his so doing,

* *Id. Ep. 15. 2.* Nec juxta Pythagoræ discipulos, præjudicata Doctoris opinio, sed doctrinæ ratio ponderanda est.

† *Id. ibid.* Meum propositum est, antiquos legere, probare singula, retinere quæ bona sunt, et à fide Ecclesiæ Catholicæ non recedere.

* *Id. Ep. 76. ad Tranquil.* Ego Origenem propter Eruditionem sic interdum legendum arbitror, quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium, Apollinarium, et nonnullos Ecclesiasticos scriptores, Græcos pariter, et Latinos, ut bona eorum eligamus, vitemusque contraria; juxta Apostolum dicentem, Omnia probate; quod bonum est, tenete.

† *Hier. ep. 13. ad Paulin. B.* Cyprianus de scripturis divinis nequaquam differuit. Inclyto Victorinus martyrio coronatus, quod intelligit, et qui non potest. Lactantius utinam tam nostra confirmare potuisset, quàm facile aliena destruxit. Arnobius inæqualis, & nimius est, & absque operis sui partitione confusus. S. Hilarius Gallicano cothurno attollitur, & longis interdum periodis involvitur, & a lætione simpliciorum fratrum procul est.

* *Because* (saith he) *We ought not, according to the Example of Pythagoras his Schollers, to have an eye to the Prejudicated Opinion of the Proposer, but rather the Reason of the thing Proposed:* which words of his, do sufficiently confirm the sense which we have formerly given of that Passage of his, in the Preface, to his second Commentary upon *Hosea*. He presently afterwards adds; † *My Purpose is to read the Ancients; to prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good; and not to depart from the Faith of the Catholick Church; according to the Rule, which he hath commended unto us, in his LXXVI Epistle, where he adviseth us* * *to read Origen, Tertullian, Novatus, Arnobius, Apollinaris, and some other of the Ecclesiastical Writers; but with this caution, that we should make choise of that which is good, but take heed of embracing that which is not so; according to the Apostle, who bids us prove all things; but hold fast onely that which is good.* And this is the course he constantly takes, censuring, with the greatest Liberty that may be, the Opinions, and Expositions of all those who went before him. He gives you freely his judgment of every one of them; affirming † *That Cyprian scarcely touched the Scriptures at all; that Victorinus was not able to express his own Conceptions: that Lactantius is not so happy in his endeavours of proving Our Religion, as he is in overthrowing that of others: that Arnobius is very uneven, and Confused, and too Luxuriant: that St. Hilary is too swelling,*

and

and incumbred with too long Periods. I shall not here set before you, what he saith of *Origen*, *Theodorus*, *Apollinaris*, and of the *Chilists*; whose professed enemy he hath declared himself, and whom he reproveth very sharply upon all Occasions, whensoever they come in his way; and yet himself confesseth them all to have been men of very great Parts; giving even *Origen* himself, who is the most dangerous Writer of them all, this testimony, † *That none but the ignorant can deny, but that, next to the Apostles, he was one of the greatest Masters of the Church.* But that I may not meddle with any, but such whose names have never been cried down in the Church; do but mark how he deals with *Rheticus Augustudunensis*, an Ecclesiastical Authour: * *There are (saith he) an infinite number of things in his Commentaries, which in my judgment, shew very mean and poor; and a little after: † He seemeth to have had so ill an opinion of others, as to have a conceit, that no man was able to judg of his faults.* He taketh the same Liberty also, in rejecting their Opinions, and Expositions; and sometimes not without passing upon them very tart Girds too. He justifies the Truth of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, and findeth an infinite number of faults, in the Translation of the LXX, against almost the general consent not onely of the more Ancient Writers, but also of those too, who lived in his own time, who all esteemed it as a Divine Piece. † He scoffes at the conceit of those men, who believed, that the Seventy Interpreters, being put severally into Seventy distinct Cells, were inspired from above, in the Translation of the Bible. * *Let them keep, (saith he, speaking of his own Back-biters, by way of scorn,) with all my heart, in the Seventy Cells of the Alexandrian Pharos; for fear they should loose their Sails of their Ships, and be forced to bewail the losse of their Cordage.*

† *Hier. Præfat. in lib. de Nom. Hebr. Quem (Origine) post Apostolos Ecclesiarum Magistrum nemo nisi imperitus negat.*

* *Id ep. 133. ad Marcel. Innumerabilia sunt, quæ in illius mihi Commentariis forte visa sunt.*

† *Id. ibid. Sed tam malè videtur existimasse de cæteris, ut nemo possit de ejus erroribus judicare.*

† *Hier. Præfat. in Pentateuch. ad Desid. Nescio quis primus Auctor Septuaginta cellulas Alexandriæ mendacio suo extruxerit.*

* *Id. Comm. 10. in Ezech. Habitentque in Septuaginta cellulis Alexandrini Phari, ne vela perdant de navibus, & funium detrimenta suscipiant.*

As for their Expositions. he refuseth them openly, whensoever they do not please him. Thus doth he finde fault with the Exposition, which is given by the greatest part of the Fathers, of the Word, *Israël*; which they will

have to signifie, *A Man seeing God*: * *Notwithstanding that those, who interpret it thus, are Persons of very great both Authority and Eloquence; and whose very shadow (saith he,) is sufficient to bear us down: yet cannot we choose but follow the Authority of the Scriptures, and of the Angel, and of God, who gave this name of Israël, rather than the power of any secular Eloquence, how great soever it be. And in his CXLVI Epistle, written to Pope Damasus he saith; † That there are some, who not considering the Text, conceive Superstitiously, rather than Truly, that these Words, in the Beginning of the XLIV Psalm, Eructavit Cor meum verbum bonum; My heart is inditing a good matter; are spoken in*

the Person of the Father. And yet the greatest part of those, who lived in the time of Arius, and a little after him, understood these words in the same sense.

It was likewise the Generall Opinion, in a manner, of all men, that *Adam* was buried upon Mount *Calvary*, and in the very same place, where our Saviour *Christ* was crucified. And yet *St. Hierome* † rejecteth this Opinion; and which is more, he makes himself merry with it, without any scruple at all. So likewise there were some, among the afore-named Ancient Fathers, who out of a Pious Affection which they bare to *St. Peter*, maintained, * that he denied not God, but Man; and that the sense of the Words of his Deniall, is, *I know not him to be a Man,*

* *Hier. Tradit. Hebr.* Quamvis igitur grandis Auctoritatis sint, & eloquentiæ, & ipsorum umbra nos opprimat, qui, *Israël*, virum, sive mentem videntem Deum, transtulerunt; nos magis Scripturæ, & Angeli & Dei, qui ipsum *Israël* vocavit, auctoritate ducimur, quam cujuscunque eloquentiæ sæcularis.

† *Id. ep. 146. ad Damas.* Licet quidam superstiosè magis, quàm verè, non considerantes textum Psalmi, ex Patris persona arbitrentur hæc intelligi.

† *Hier. in loc. Hebr. Euseb. et Com. 4. in Matth.*

* *Hilar. in Matth. Can. 31.*

† *Hier. Com. 4. in Mat. in c. 26.* Hoc quam frivolum sit, prudens Lector intelligit, si defendunt Apostolum, ut Deum mendacii reum faciant, &c.

for I know that he is God. † The Intelligent Reader, (saith the same St. Hierome) will easily perceive, how idle and frivolous a thing this is, to accuse our Saviour as guilty of

of a Lie, by excusing his *Apostle*. For if *St. Peter* did not deny him, our Saviour must necessarily then have lied; when he said unto him, *Verily I say unto thee, &c.* * He takes the same Liberty also in reprehending *St. Ambrose*, who understands by *Gog*, spoken of in the Prophet *Ezekiel*, the Nation of the *Goths*: neither do those other Fathers scape his Lash; who pleasing themselves too much with their Allegories, take *Bosra* in *Isaiah*, for the *Flesh*, whereas it signifieth a *Fortress*. I might here produce very many the like passages, but these few shall now serve as a Taster only: For who seeth not by this time, that these Holy Men took not the Fathers, who went before them for the Judges, or Arbitrators, touching the Opinions of the Church? and that they did not receive their Testimonies, and Depositions, as Oracles; but reserved the Right, which *St. Augustine* alloweth to every man, of examining them by the Rule of Reason, and of the Scripture. Neither are we to take any notice at all of *St. Hierome*, when he seems to except out of this number, the Writings of *Athanasius*, and of *St. Hilary*; writing to *Leta*, and telling her, that her Daughter *Paula* might walk securely, and with firm footing, by the Epistles of the one, and the Books of the other; and therefore he counselleth her * to take delight in these mens writings; for as much as in their Books, the Piety of Faith wavereth not: And as for all other Authors, she may read them; but rather, to pass her judgment upon them, then to follow them. For first of all, although perhaps there should be some piece of a Father, that should have no Error at all in it, (as questionless there are many such) yet would not this render the Authority of the same Infal-
* Id. Com. XI. in Ezch. in Prefat. Ambros. l. 2. de fid. ad Grat. Hier. in Esai. Comm. X.

ble. How many such Books are there, even of the Moderns; wherein neither the one Party, nor the other, hath been able to discover any the least Error, in matter of Faith? And yet I suppose, no man will presently conclude from hence, that we ought to admit of these Authors, as Judges of our Faith. A man may there find perhaps

* Hier. Ep 7. ad Lat. Illo- rum tractati- bus; illorum delectetur in- genis, in quo- rum libris pie- tas fidei non vacillat. Cæ- teros sic legat, ut magis ju- dicet, quan- sequatur.

Baron. Annal.
an. 369. Sect.
24.

perhaps the same Truth, (as St. *Augustine* saith, a little before;) but it will not be of equall Authority with that of the Canonick Books. Besides, as Cardinall *Baronius* hath observed, this last Passage of St. *Hierome* ought to be understood only, in the Point touching the Holy Trinity; concerning which there were at that time Great Disputes betwixt the *Catholicks*, and the *Arrians*; for otherwise if his words be taken in a Generall sense, they will be found to be false, as to St. *Hilaries* Particular, who hath had his failings in some certain things, as we shall see hereafter. In a word; although St. *Hierome* were to be understood, as speaking in a Generall sense, (as his words indeed seem to bear) yet might the same thing possibly happen to Him here, which He hath observed, hath oftentimes befallen to others; namely, to be mistaken in his Judgment. For we are not to imagine, that he would have us have a greater Opinion of Him, then He himself hath of other men. And St. *Augustine* told him, as we have before shewed, that he did not believe that He expected, men should judge any otherwise of him. And I suppose, we may very safely keep to St. *Augustines* judgment, and believe with him, that St. *Hierome* had never any intention, that we should receive all his Positions, as Infallible Truths: but rather, that he would have us to read, and examine His Writings, with the same freedom that we do those of other men. And if we have no mind to take St. *Augustines* word, in this Particular, let us yet take S. *Hieromes* own; who in his second Commentary upon the Prophet *Habakkuk* saith;

† *Hier. Com. 2. in Abac.* Si quis autem his sagaciora, et veriora repererit, illi magis explanationi præbet consensum.

* *Id. in Sophon.* Si quis autem magis verisimilia, et habentia rationem, quam à nobis sunt dissetta, repererit, illius magis Lector auctoritate ducatur.

† And thus have I delivered unto you my sense in brieve: but if any one produce that which is more exact, and true, take his Exposition rather then mine. And so likewise upon the Prophet *Zephaniah*, he saith, * We have now done our utmost endeavour, in giving an Allegoricall Exposition of the Text; but if any other can bring

bring that which is more Probable, and agreeable to Reason, then that which we have delivered; let the Reader be swayed by His Authority, rather then by Ours. And in another place he speaketh to the same purpose, in these words: † *This we have delivered according*

to the utmost of Our poor Ability, and have given you a short touch of the divers Opinions, both of our Own men, and of the Jews; yet if any man can give me a better, and truer

Account of these things, I shall be very ready to embrace the same. Is this now, I

would fain ask, to bind up our tongues, and our belief, so, as that we have no further liberty of re-

fusing, what He hath once laid down before us; or of searching into the Reasons, and Grounds of his Opinions?

No, let us rather make use of that Liberty, which they all allow us: let us hearken to them, but (as They themselves advise us) when what they deliver is grounded upon

Reason, and upon the Scriptures. If they had not made use of this Caution, in the reading of those Authors who

went before Them, the Christian Faith had now been wholly stuffed up with the Dreams of an *Origen*, or

an *Apollinaris*, or some other the like Authors: But neither the Excellency of the Doctrine, nor yet the

Resplendency of their Holy Life, which no man can deny to have shone forth very eminently in the Primitive

Fathers, were able so to dazle the eyes of those that came after them, as that they could not distinguish

betwixt that which was Sound, and True, in their Writings, and that which was Triviall, and False.

Let not therefore the Excellency of those, who came after them hinder us, either from passing by, or even

rejecting their Opinions, when we find them built upon weak Foundations. You see they confess them-

selves, that this may very possibly be: we should therefore be left utterly Inexcusable, if after this their so cha-

ritable Admonition, we should still believe all They

say,

† *Hier. Com. in Zach. Hæc ut quivimus, ut vires ingenioli nostri ferre potuerunt, loquuti sumus, et Hebræorum, et nostrorum varias opiniones breviter perstringentes. Si quis melius, imo verius dixerit; et nos libentur memoribus acquiescimus.*

† *Ambros. l. 7. Ep. 47.* Ego enim beneficio annuero, si quis mea legens scripta dicat mihi, quo videatur moveri. Primum, quia et in iis quæ scio, falli possum. Multa autem prætereunt, multa quibusdam aliter sonant.

say, without examining any thing. † *I take it for a Favour, (saith St. Ambrose) when any one that readeth my Writings, giveth me an account of what Doubts be there meeteth withall. First of all, because I may be deceived, in those very things which I know. And besides, many things escape us; and*

some things sound otherwise to some, then perhaps they do to Me. I shall further here desire the Reader to take notice, how carefull the Ancients were, in advising those, who lived in their own time, to take a strict Examination of Their words: as for example, where *Origen* adviseth,

* *Orig. Hom. 2. in Ezech.* Quæso audientes, ut diligenter attendant, et accipiant gratiam Spiritus, de qua dictum est, discretio Spirituum; ut probati Trapezitæ facti, diligenter observent, quando falsus sim magister, quando vero prædicem, quæ sunt pietatis, ac veritatis.

* *That his Auditors should prove whatsoever He delivered, and that they should be attentive, and receive the Grace of the Spirits from whom proceedeth the Discerning of Spirits, that so as good Bankers, they might diligently observe, when their Pastor deceiveth them; and when he preacheth unto them that which is Pious, and True: Cyrill likewise, in his Fourth Catechesis, hath these words: † Believe me not (saith he) in whatsoever I shall simply deliver, unless thou find the things which I shall speak, demonstrated out of the Holy Scriptures: For the Conservation, and Establishment of our Faith, is not grounded upon the Eloquence of Language, but rather upon the Prooves that*

† *Cyrril. Hieros. Cateches. 4.* Μὴ δὲ ἐμὴ τῶ ταῦτά σοι λέγοντι ἀπλῶς πισεύῃς, εἰ μὴ τὰ ἀποδείξιν τῶν καταγγελλομένων ἀπὸ τῶν θείων μὴ λῶς γραφῶν. ἡ σωτηρία γὰρ αὕτη τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν ἐκ ἐξ ευρεσιλογίας, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἐποδείξεων τῶν θείων ἐστὶ γραφῶν.

are brought out of the Divine Scriptures. If therefore they would not have those, who heard them speak *viva voce*, to believe them in any thing, unless they had demonstrated the truth of it out of the Scriptures, how much less would they have us now receive, without this Demonstration, those Opinions which we meet with in their Books, which are not only Mute, but corrupted also, and altered so much, and so many severall ways, as we have formerly shewed?

Certainly

Certainly when I see these Holy men on one side, crying out unto us, that they are Men subject to Errours; and that therefore we ought to consider, and examine what they deliver, and not take it all for Oracle: and then, on the other side, set before my eyes these Worthy Maximes of the Ages following: to wit, * *That their Doctrine is the Law of the Church Universal: and, That we are bound to follow it, not only according to the sense, but according to the Bare Words also: and that we are bound to hold all, that they have Written, even to the lest title:* This representation, I say, makes me call to mind the history of Paul & Barnabas, to whom the *Lycaonians* would needs render Divine Honour, notwithstanding all the resistance these Holy men were able to make; who could not forbear to rend their garments, through the Indignation they were filled with, to see that service payd to themselves, which was due to the Divine Majesty alone; running in amongst them, and crying out aloud; *Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are Men of like passions with you.* For, seeing that there is none but God, whose word is certainly and necessarily True: and, seeing that, on the other side, the Word, whereon we ground and build our Faith, ought to be such: who seeth not, that it is all one, as to invest Man with the Glory, which is due to God alone, and to place him in a manner in His seat, if we make His Word the Rule and Foundation of our Faith, and the Judg of our Differences concerning It? I am therefore stedfastly of this Opinion, that if these Holy men could now behold from their blessed Mansions, where they now live in blisse on high with their Lord, and Saviour; what things are acted here below, they would be very much offended with this False Honour, which men confer upon them, much against Their Wills; and would take it, as a very great injury offer'd them; seeing that They cannot receive this Honour, but to the Prejudice, and Diminution of the Glory of their Redeemer; whom they love a thousand times more, then Themselves. Or if, from out their Sepulchres, where the Re-

* *Serg. Patr. C.N. Mon. in ep. ad Cyr. Concil. VI. ὡν (πατερων) τὰ δόγματα νόμιμα τῇ καθεύκῃ καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ; Τὸν πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνέστη μὴ μόνον κατ' ἐννοίαν τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἔπειτα δόγμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ χρῆσθαι φεναῖς.*

liques of their Mortality are now laid up, they could but make us hear their sacred voice; they would (I am very confident) most sharply reprove us for this Abuse, and would cry out in the words of *S. Paul*; *Sirs, why do ye these things? We also were Men, of like Passions with you.* But yet what need is there, either of ransacking their Sepulchers, and disturbing their Sacred Ashes; or, of calling down their Spirits from Heaven; seeing that their voice resoundeth loud enough, and is heard so plainly, in these very Books of theirs, which we so imprudently place in that seat, which is onely due to the Word of God? We have heard, what the Judgment was of *S. Augustine*, and of *S. Hierome*, (the two most eminent Persons in the Western Church,) touching this Particular: let us not then be at all afraid, having such examples to follow, to speak freely our Opinions. But now, before we go any further, I conceive it will be necessary, that we answer an Objection, that may be brought against us; which is, that *Athanasius*, *S. Cyrill*, and *S. Augustine* himself also, often times cite the Fathers. Besides what some have observed, that the Fathers seldom entered into these Lists, but when they were provoked by their Adversaries; I add further, that when we maintain, that the Authority of the Fathers is not a sufficient *Medium*, to prove an Article of Faith by; we do not thereby presently forbid either the reading, or the citing of them. The Fathers often quote the Writings of the Learned Heathens, the Oracles of the *Sibylls*, and Passages out of the Apocryphal Books. Did they therefore think, that these Books were of sufficient Authority to ground an Article of Faith upon? God forbid, we should entertain so ill an Opinion of them: Their Faith was grounded upon the Word of God: But yet to evidence the Truth more fully, they searched into Humane Records; and by this Inquiry, made it appear, that the Light of the Truth, revealed unto Them, had in some degree shot its beams also even into the Schools of Men, how Close, and Shady soever they had

had been. But, if they should have produced no other, but Humane Authority, they would never have been able to have brought over any one person to the Faith. But after they had received, by Divine Revelation, the Matter of our Faith; it was very wisely done of them, in the next place to prove, not the Truth, but the Clearnesse of It, by these little Sparks, which shot forth their light in the Spirits of Men. And for some the like Reason did *S. Augustine, Athanasius, Cyrill*, and many other of them, make use of Allegations out of the Fathers. For, after that each of these had grounded upon the Authority of Divine Revelation, the Necessity, and Efficacy of Grace; the Consubstantiality of the Son with Father, and the Union of the Two Natures in Christ; they then fell to producing of several Passages out of those Learned Men, who had lived before Them; to let men see, that this Truth was so clear in the Word of God, as that all that went before them had both seen, and acknowledged the same: The Consideration whereof was both Pleasing, and Useful unto them. For, what can more delight a Faithful Heart, then to find, that the chiefeſt, and moſt Eminent Persons in the Church, had long ſince held the ſame Opinions, touching our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and His Grace, that We now hold at this day? But yet it does not hence preſently follow, that though theſe Holy men ſhould have met with theſe Articles of our Faith, in the Writings of their Predeceſſours onely, without finding any Foundation of them in the Canonical Scriptures, they would notwithstanding firmly have believed, and embraced the ſame, contenting themſelves with the Bare Authority of their Predeceſſours. *S. Augustine* profeſſeth plainly, that in ſuch a Caſe they might better have rejected them, and not be blamed for ſo doing neither; then have received them, unleſs they would incur the imputation of being ^{our} Credulous. For, it is a point of too much Credulity, to believe any thing without Reason: and He further affirmeth, that where men ſpeak without either Scripture, or Reason; their bare Authority is not

sufficient to oblige us to beleive what they propose unto us. So that it hence appeareth, that Humane Testimonies are alledged, not to prove the Truth of the Faith, but onely to shew the Clearnesse of it, after it is once well grounded. Now the Question at this day betwixt us, and the Church of *Rome*, is not concerning the Clearnesse of the Truth of the Articles they beleive, and presse upon the world: but it yet lies upon them to prove, even the very Ground, and Foundation of them. Shew me therefore (will a Protestant here say,) either out of some Text of Scripture, or else by some Evident Reason, that there is any such place as Purgatory; and that the Eucharist is not Bread; and, that the Pope is the Monarch, and Head of the Church Universal: and then, I shall be very glad to try, if for our greater comfort we may be able to finde, in the Authors of the Third, or Fourth Century, these Truths embraced by the Fathers of thosetimes. But, to begin with these, is to invert the Natural Order of things. We ought first to be assured, that the Thing is; before we make inquiry, whether it hath been beleived, or not. For, to what purpose is it to find, that the Ancients beleived it, unlesse we find withall in their Writings, some Reason of this their Belief? And again on the other side, what harm is it to us, to be ignorant, whether Antiquity beleived it or not; so long as We know, that the Thing is? And whereas there are some, who to establish the Supream Authority of the Fathers, alleadg the counsell which *Sisinnius*, a Novatian, and *Agellius*, his Bishop, gave of old to *Nectarius*, Archbishop of *Constantinople*; and by him to *Theodosius* the Emperour; which was, that they should demand of the *Arrians*, whether, or not, he would stand to what the Fathers, who died before the breaking forth of their Heresie, had delivered, touching the Point debated betwixt them: Trick this is hardly worth our consideration. For, this was a onely, devised by a subtile head, and which is worse, by a Schismatick; & consequently to be suspected, as a Captious Proposal,

*Sozomen. l. 7.
c. 12. Hæst.
Eccles.*

Proposal, purposely made to entrap the Adverse party; rather then any free, and ingenuous way of Proceeding.

For, if this manner of Proceeding had been right, and good; how came it to passe, that among so many Catholick Bishops as there were, none of them all advised it? How came it to passe, that They were so ignorant of the Weapons, wherewith the enemies of the Church were to be encountred? How came it about, that it should be proposed onely by a young fellow, who was a Schismatick too? And, if it were approved of, as right, and good Counsel; why did *Gregory Nazianzene, S. Basil,* and so many other of the Fathers, who wrote in that Age against the *Arrians*, deal with them wholly, in a manner, out of the Scriptures? And certainly those Holy men, besides their Christian Candor, which obliged them to this way of Proceeding, took a very wise course in so doing. For, if this Controversie had been to be decided by the Authority of Humane Writers, I know not how any man should have been able to make good that, which this Gallant so confidently affirmeth, in the place afore cited; namely, *That none of the Ancients ever said, that the Son*

of God had any beginning of his Generation; considering those many strange Passages that we yet at this day meet with, touching this Particular, in the Books of the First Fathers: which is the reason also, why the *Arrians* alledged their Testimonies; as we see they do, in the Books of *Athanasius, Hilary,* and other of the Ancients, who wrote against them. But what need we insist so long upon a story, which is rejected by Cardinal * *Baronius*, as being an idle Tale devised by *Zozomene*, who was a *Novatian*, in favour of those of his own Sect. The Counsel of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, which he gives us in a certain little Discourse of his which is very highly prised by † *Gennadius*, is accounted by many men much more worthy of our Consideration. For, having first told us, that he

Sozomen. loc. citat. εν γαρ ηδε, ως οι παλαιοι σωαινον τω πατρι τον υιον εν ρυότες, εκ ετολμησαν ειπειν εκ τινος αρχης τιω γενεσιν αυτου εχειν.
* *Baron. Ann. 383.*

† *Gennad. in Catal. inter Op. Hieron.*

speaks

* *Vincent. Lirin. Common. c. 39.*
 Sed eorū duntaxat Patrum sententia conferenda sunt, qui in fide & Communione Catholica Sanctè, Sapientèr, Constantèr viventes, docentes & permanentes, vel mori in Christo fidelitur, vel occidi pro Christo foeliciter meruerunt. Quibus tamen hac lege credendum est, ut quicquid vel omnes, vel plures, uno eodemque sensu manifestè, frequenter, perseveranter, velut quodam consentiente sibi magistrorum concilio, accipiendo, tenendo, tradendo firmaverint, id pro indubitato, certo, ratoque habeatur: quicquid verò, quamvis ille Sanctus & doctus, quamvis Episcopus, quamvis Confessor, & Martyr, præter omnes, aut etiam contra omnes senserit, id inter proprias, & occultas & privatas opiniunculas à communis, publicæ, & generalis Sententiæ autoritate Secretum sit. *T. 4. Bibl. PP.*

speaks not of any Authours, * *Save onely of such, who, having Holily, wisely, and Constantly lived, preached, and persevered in the Catholicke Faith, and Communion, obtained the favour at length, either to dye faithfully in Christ or else had the happinesse of being crowned with Martyrdom, for Christs sake; he further addeth; that we are to receive, as undoubtedly True, Certain, and Definitive, whatsoever all the aforesaid Authours, or at least the greatest part of them, have clearly, frequently, and Constantly affirmed, with an Unanimous Consent receiving, retaining, and delivering it over to Others, as it were joyntly, and making up all of them but one Common, and Unanimous Council of Doctors.* But this Passage of his is so far from advancing the Supream Authority, which some would attribute to the Fathers, in Matters of Faith; that on the contrary I meet with something in it, that makes me more doubt of their Authority, then I did before. For, I find by this mans discourse, that whatsoever his reason was, whether Good, or Bad, he cleerly appears to have had a very great desire of bringing all Differences in Religion, before the Judgment seat of the Fathers; and to the same end, he labours to prove, with the same Eagerness, and Passion, that Their Judgment is Infallible, in these Cases. But in the mean time I find him so perplexed, and troubled in bringing out that which he would have, as that it appears sufficiently, that he saw well enough, that what he desired, was not so agreeable to Truth. For he hath so qualified his Proposition, and bound it in with so many Limitations, as that it is very Probable, that if all these Conditions, which he here requires, were any where to be found,

we might then safely, perhaps, rely upon the Writings of the Fathers. But then on the other side, it is so very difficult a matter, to meet with such a Conjunction of so many severall Qualifications, as that I very much doubt, whether we shall be ever able to enjoy this happiness, or not.

For first of all, for the persons of those men, whose Testimonies we alledge, he requireth that they should be such, as not only *Lived*, but also *Taught*: and which is more, *persevered* too, not only in the *Faith*, but in the *Communion* also of the Catholick Church. And then, for fear of being surpris'd, and taken at his Word, he comes over us with a new supply, and qualifies his words with a Restriction of Three *Adverbs*; and tells Us, that they must have lived, and taught *Holily*, *Wisely*, and *Constantly*. But yet this is not all: for besides all this, they must have either died in Christ, or for Christ. So that if they *Lived*, but did not *Teach*; or if they both *Lived*, and *Taught*, but did not *Persevere*; or if they both *Lived*, *Taught*, and also *Persevered* in the *Faith*, but not in the *Communion*; or else in the *Communion*, but not in the *Faith* of the Catholick Church; or if they yet *Lived*, and *Taught* *Holily*, but not *Wisely*; or on the contrary, *Wisely*, but not *Holily*; and if, in the last place after all this, having performed all the Particulars before set down, they did not at last dye either in Christ, or for Christ; they ought not according to this mans Rule, be admitted as Witnesses in this Case. Certainly he might have stopped here, and not have gone on still with his Modifications, as he doth, limiting the number and the words of these witnesses. For what Christian ever made scruple of receiuing the Opinion of such a one, as had both *Holily*, *Wisely*, and *Constantly* lived, and taught in the *Faith*, and *Communion* of the Catholick Church? For you might hence very well rest assured, that whatsoever he had delivered, was True; and consequently, Fit to be believed: for how could he have taught *Wisely*, and *Constantly*,

stantly, if he had taught any False Doctrine? All that he here therefore promiseth us, is no more but this; That we should be sure not to be deceived, provided, that we believed no other Doctrines save what were Holy, and True. This Promise of his is like that, which little Children are wont to make, when they tell you, that you shall never dye, if you but eat always. Neither do I believe, that there is any man in the world so perverse, and wilfull, as not readily to assent to such a man, as he assuredly knew to be so qualified, as *Vincentius Lirinensis* would here have him to be. But seeing that it is necessary, that we should first know the Quality of the Witness, before we hear him; it remaineth, in my judgment, that before we do so much as hear any of the Fathers, we ought to be first assured, that he was so qualified in every particular, according to *Vincentius* his Rule before layed down. Now I would very fain have any one inform me, how it is possible for us to know this? Who will assure us, that *Athanasius*, *St. Cyrill*, or what other Father you please, both Lived, Taught, Persevered, and Died Holily, Wisely, and Constantly in the Faith, and Communion of the Catholick Church? This can never be done, without a most Exact Inquiry made, both into their Life, and their Doctrines: which is an Impossible thing, considering the many Ages that have passed, from Their times, down to Ours. But yet supposing, that this were a Possible thing, it would nevertheless be of no use at all, as to this Authors purpose. For, He will have us hear the Fathers, to the end, that we may be by Them instructed in the Truth. Now, that we may be rightly informed, whether or no, they were so Qualified, as is before required; we ought necessarily to know first of all, what the Truth is. For how is it otherwise possible, that we should be able to judg, whether they have taught Holily, and Wisely? And if you were before hand instructed in the Truth, what need have you then to hear Them, and to desire to be instructed in it, by Them? You may indeed

indeed make use of them, for the Illustration, and Confirmation of that which you knew before ; but you cannot learn any Truth from Them, which you knew not before. And if you understand the *Maxime* before alledged in another sense, and take this *Wisdom*, and *Holiness*, this *Faith*, and *Communion* of the Catholick Church therein mentioned, for a shadow only, and the *Superficies*, and Outward Appearance of these things ; and for a Common and Empty Opinion, grounded meerly upon the Publick voice of the People, and not upon an Exact Knowledg of the thing it self, it will then prove to be manifestly False ; those Persons who have but the Outward Appearance only, and not the Reality of these Qualities, being no way fit to be admitted as Witnesses, much less to be received as the Supream Judges, in the Point of the Christian Faith. So that this proposition is either Impossible, if you understand it as the words seeme to sound ; or else it is False, if you take it in any larger sense. The like exceptions may be made, against those other Conditions, which he there further requires, touching the *Number*, and the *Words* of these Witnesses. For he alloweth not the force of a Law to any thing, but what hath been delivered either by All, or else by the Greatest part of them. If he here, by All, mean All the Fathers, that ever have been, or but the Greatest Part of them only, he then puts us upon an Impossibility. For taking the whole Number of Fathers that ever have been, the Greatest, and perhaps too, the Best part of them have not written any thing at all : and among those that have written, how many hath Time devoured ? and how many hath the False Dealings of Men, either wholly suppressed, or else corrupted, and altered ? It is therefore Evidently Impossible to know, what the Opinions have been, either of All, or of the Greatest Part of the Fathers, in this sense. And if he restrains this *All*, and this *Greatest Part*, to those who appear at this day ; either in their own Books, or in Historians, and the Writings of other

men ; it will concern us then to inquire , whether or no, by All, he means All promiscuously , without distinguishing them by their severall Ages , wherein they lived : or else , whether he would have us distinguish them into severall *Classes*, putting together in the same Rank, all those that lived in one and the same Age ; and receiving for Truth, whatsoever we find to have been held , and confirmed by the Greatest Part of them : Now both these waies agree in this one thing ; namely, that they render the Judgment of the Christian Faith wholly Casuall, and make it depend upon divers and sundry Accidents, which have been the Cause of the Writings of the Fathers being either preserved, or lost. For, put the case that *Vincentius* should have cleared, by this excellent course of his , some Point or other , which had been controverted : he must have thanked the Fire , the Water, the Moathes , or the Worms, for having spared those Authors which he made use of , and for having consumed all those other, that wrote in favour of the Adverse Party : for otherwise he should have been an Heretick. And if we should decide our Differences in Matters of Faith after this manner, we should do in a manner as he did , who gave judgment upon the suites of Law that came before him , by the Chances he threw with Three Dice. Do but imagine now , what an endless labour it would be , for a man either to go and heap up together , and run over all the Authors that ever have written, one with another ; or else to distinguish them into their severall Ages they wrote in, and to examine them by Companies. And do but imagine again, what satisfaction a man should be able to get from hence ; and where we should be , in case we should find (as it is possible it may sometimes so fall out, as we shall shew hereafter) that the Sense , and Judgment of this *Greatest Part* should prove to be either Contrary to, or perhaps besides the Sense and Meaning either of the Scriptures, or of the Church. And again , how senseless a thing were it, to make the Suffrages of Equall Authority

ty, of Persons that are so Vnequall themselves, either in respect of their Merit, Learning, Holy Life, and Soundness of Faith : and that a *Rheticus*, whom *St. Hierome* censured so hardly a little before, should be reckoned Equall with *St. Augustine* ; or a *Philastrinus* be as good a man, as *St. Hierome* ? There is perhaps among the Fathers such a One, whose judgment is of more weight, then a Hundred others ; and yet forsooth will this man have us to make our *Doubles*, and our *Sons*, to go for as much as our *Crowns*, and *Pistols*. And lastly, what reason in the world is there, that although perhaps the Persons themselves were equall in all things, we should yet make their words also of equall Force, which are oftentimes of very different, and Vnequall Authority; some of them having been uttered, as it were, before the Barr, the Books having been produced, both Parties heard, and the whole Cause thoroughly examined : and the other perhaps having been cast forth by their Authors at all adventure, as it were ; either in their Chamber, or else in discourse walking abroad ; or else perhaps by the By, while they were treating of some other Matter ? But our Friend here, to prevent in some sort this later Inconvenience, requires, that the Word of this *Greatest Part*, which he will allow to be fit to be Authorised, must have been uttered by them Clearly, Often and Constantly ; and then, and not till then, doth he allow them for Certain, and Vndoubted Truth. And now you see he is got into another Hold. For I would very fain be informed, how it is possible for us to know, whether these Fathers, which we thus have called out of their Graves, to give us their Judgment touching the Controversies in Religion, affirmed those things, which we find in their Writings, Clearly, Often, and Constantly, or not ? If in this his Pretended Councell of Doctors, you will not allow the Right of giving their suffrage to those, of whom it may be doubted, that they either expressed themselves Obscurely, or gave in their Testimonies but

seldome, or have but weakly maintained their own Opinion ; I pray you tell me, whom shall we have left at last, to be the Judges, in the decision of our Present Controversies ? As for the Apostles Creed, and the Determinations of the Four First Generall Councells, (which are assented unto, and approved of by all the Protestant Party ;) I confesse we may, by this way of Tryall, allow them as Competent Judges in these Matters. But as for all the rest, it is evident, by what hath been delivered in the First Part of this Treatise, that we can never admit of them, if they are thus to be Qualified, and to have all the afore mentioned Conditions. VVe may therefore very well conclude, that the Expedient here proposed by this Author, is either Impossible, or else, not so safe to be put in practise ; so that, I shall rather approve of *St. Augustines* judgment, touching the Authority of the Fathers. I should not have insisted so long upon the Examination of this Proposall of his, had I not seen it to have been in so high Esteem with many men, and indeed with some of the Learned too. For in earnest, after *St. Augustine*, and *St. Hierome* have delivered their judgments, it matters not much, what this man shall have believed to the contrary. But yet, before we finish this Point, let us a little examine this Author, both by *St. Augustine's*, and by his Own Rule before layed down. *St. Augustine* thinks us not bound to believe the saying of any Author, except he can prove the Truth of it unto us ; either by the Canonick Scriptures, or else by some Probable Reason. VVhat Text of Scripture, or what Reason hath this Man alledged, to prove the truth of what he hath Proposed ? So that whatsoever his Opinion be, he must not take it amiss, if according to the Advice and Practise of *St. Augustine*, we take leave to dissent from him : especially, considering we have so many Reasons to reject That, which he without any Reason given, would have us to receive. And thus you see, that according to the Judgment of *S. Augustine*, the

Perron, Cassander, &c.

the Saying of this *Vincentius Lirinensis*, although you should reckon him among the most Eminent of the Fathers, doth not at all oblige us, to give our Assent unto it. And yet you will find, that his Testimony would be yet of much less force and Weight, if you but Examine the man by his Own Rule. For according to Him, we are not to hearken to the Fathers, except they both Lived, and Taught, Holily, and Wisely, even unto the hour of their death. VVho is there now, that will pass his word for him, that He himself was one of this number? VVho shall assure us, that he was not either an Heretick himself, or at least a Favourer of Hereticks? For, is it not evident enough, that he favoured the *Semipelagians*, who at that time swarmed in *France*, rayling against the very Name, and Memory of *St. Augustine*; and who were condemned by the whole Church? Who may not easily see this, by his manner of Discourse in his

† *Commonitorium*, tending this way; where he seems, † *Vincent. Lirin. in Comm. 2.c.43.* to intimate unto us under hand, that *Prosper*, and *Hilary*, had unjustly slandered Them; and that Pope

* *Celestine*, who also wrote against them, had been mis- * *Celestinus apud Aug. l. 2. Contr. Pelag. et Celest. c. 3.* informed? And may not he also be strongly suspected to have been the Author of those *Objections* made against

Prosper, which are called, † *Objectiones Vincentianae*. † *Prosper. Resp. ad Object. Vincent.* Vincent's *Objections*? The great Commendations also

which are given him by * *Gennadius*, very much con- * *Gennard. in Catal. in Ruff. inter Op. Hieron.* firm this suspicion; it being clear, that this Author was of the same Sect: as appears plainly by the great account

he makes of *Ruffinus*, a Priest of *Aquileja*, who was the Grand Patriarch of the *Pelagians*; saying of him. That

he was not the least part of the Doctors of the Church: Tacitely also taxing *St. Hierome*, His Adversary, and

calling him, A Malicious Slanderer; as also by the judgment, which he gives of *St. Augustine*, who was

Flagellum Pelagianorum, The scourge of the *Pelagians*, passing this Insolent Censure upon him, and saying,

† That in speaking so much, it had happened to Him, what † *Gennad. ubi supra.* the

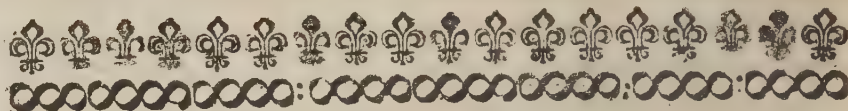
* Proverb. 10. the Holy Ghost hath said, by Solomon ; to wit, * That
19. in the Multitude of words there wanteth not sin. So

† Du Perron,
en la Repliq.
au Roy de la
Grand Brit.
passim.

that I cannot sufficiently wonder at the Boldness of Cardinali Perron, who when he hath any occasion of alledging this Author, Ordinarily calleth him, *St. Vincent de Lerins*, Saint Vincent of Lerins ; thus by a very ill Example † Canonizing a Person, who was strongly suspected to have been an Heretick. Since therefore he was such a one, why should any one think it strange, that He should so much cry up the Judgment, and Opinions of the Fathers ; seeing that there is no man but knows, that the *Pelagians*, and *Semi-Pelagians* had the better of it, by the citing Their Authorities, and laboured by this meanes to bear down *St. Augustines* Name ; and all this forsooth, only by reason that the Greatest Part of the Fathers, who lived before *Pelagius* his time, had delivered themselves with less Caution then they might have done, touching those Points which were by Him afterwards brought into Question ; and many times too in such strange Expressions, as will very hardly be reconciled to any Orthodox sense ? Yet notwithstanding, should we allow this *Vincentius* to have been a Person who was thus Qualified, and to have had all those Conditions, which He requireth in a Man, to render him Capable of being hearkned to in this Particular ; what Weight, I would fain know, ought this Proposall of his to carry with it, which yet is not found any where in the mouth of any of all those Fathers, who went before Him ; who is also so strongly contradicted both by *St. Augustine*, and *St. Hierome*, as we have seen in those Passages before alledged out of them : and who, besides, is full of Obscure Passages, and Inexplicable Ambiguities ? So that, *How Learned, and Holy a man soever he might be ; whether he were a Bishop, Confessor, or Martyr,* (which yet he was not) *this Proposall of his* (according
to

Vincent. Livin.
Common. 1. c.
39. ubi super.

to His own Maximes,) ought to be excluded from the Authority of Publick Determinations, and to be accounted of, onely as His own Particular Private Opinion. Let us therefore in this business rather follow the Judgment of *St. Augustine*, which is grounded upon Evident Reason, a Person whose Authority (when ever it shall be questioned) will be found to be Incomparably Greater, then *Vincentius Lirinensis* his: and let us not henceforth give any credit to any Sayings, or Opinions of the Fathers, save only such, the Truth whereof they shall have made appear Evidently unto us, either by the Canonickall Books of Scripture, or else by some Probable Reason.



CHAP. III.

Reason I II. That the Fathers have Written after such a manner, as that it is clear, that when they Wrote, they had no intention of being our judges in matters of Religion. Some few Examples of their Mistakes, and Oversights.

WHo so ever will but take the pains diligently to consider the Fathers manner of Writing, he will not desire any other Testimony for the proof of this Truth. For, the very Form of their Writings witnesseth clear enough, that in the greatest part of them they had no intention of delivering such Definitive Sentences, as were to be Obliging, meerly by the Single Authority of the Mouth which uttered them : but their purpose onely was rather, to communicate unto Us their Own Meditations upon divers Points of our Religion; leaving us free to our own Liberty of examining them, and to approve, or reject the same, according as we saw good. And thus hath *S. Hierome* expressly delivered his minde, as we shewed before, where he speaks of the Nature, and Manner of Commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures. And certainly if they had had any other Design, or Intention, they would never have troubled themselves, as they Ordinarily do, in gathering together the several opinions of other men. This Diligence, I confesse, is Laudable in a *Teacher*; but it would be very Ridiculous in a *Judge*. Their Stile also should then be quite of another kind, then now it is : and those Obscurities which we have observed in the Former Part of this Treatise, proceeding either from the Rhetorical Ornaments, or the Logical Subtilties which they made

made use of, should have no place here. For, what use would there be of any such thing in pronouncing a Sentence of Judgment, or indeed, in giving ones bare Testimony onely to any thing? But that which makes the Truth of this our Assertion, more Clearly to appear than all the rest, is, the little Care and Diligence that they took, in composing the greatest part of these Writings of theirs, which we now would so very fain have to be the Rules of our Faith. If these men, who were endued with such exquisite sanctity, had had any Intention of Prescribing to Posterity, a True and Perfect Tenor, and Rule of Faith; is it Probable that they would have gone Carelessly to work, in a business of so great Importance? Would they not rather have gone upon it with their Eyes opened, their Judgments settled, their Thoughts Fixed, and every Faculty of their Soul attentively bent upon the business in hand; for fear, least that in a business of so great weight as this, something might chance to fall from them, not so becomming their Own Wisdome, or so suitable to the Peoples Advantage? A Judge, that had but never so little Conscience, would not otherwise give sentence concerning the Oxen, the Field, and the Gutters of *Titius* and *Mævius*. How much more is the same Gravity, and Deliberation requisite here, where the Question is touching the Faith, the Souls, and the Eternall salvation of all Mankind? It were cleerly therefore the greatest Injury that could be offered to these Holy Persons, to imagine, that They would have taken upon them to have passed Judgment, in so weighty a Cause as this, but with the greatest Care and Attention that could be. Now it is very Evident on the other side, that in very many of those Writings of Theirs, which have come down to our hands, there seemeth to be very much Negligence, or, to speak a little more Tenderly of the business, Security at least, both in the Invention, Method, and Elocution. If therefore we tender the Reputation either of their Honesty, or Wis-

dome, we ought rather to say, that their Design in these Books of theirs, was not to Pronounce Definitively upon this Particular; neither are their Writings Judiciary Sentences, or Finall Judgments, but are rather Discourses of a far different Nature, occasioned by divers Emergent Occurrences; and are more, or less Elaborate, according to the Time, Judgment. Age and Disposition they were of, when they wrote them. Now although this want of Diligence and of Deliberation, appears of it self Evidently enough to any man, that readeth the Fathers, but with the least Attention that may be; yet notwithstanding that I may not leave this Assertion of mine only said, and not proved at all, I shall here give you some few Instances, for a Taste only.

*Hier. Prol. in
Hom Orig. in
Ios. Nau.*

First of all, there are very many Pieces, among the Works of the Fathers, which were written in haste; and some too, which were Meer Extemporary Discourses, and such, as in all Probability the Authors of them themselves would have found many things therein, which would have required Correction, had they had but leisure to have reviewed the same. *St. Hierome* in a Prologue of His to some certain Homelies of *Origen*, translated by Him into Latine, saith, that *Origen* made them and delivered them in the Church, *Ex tempore*. Touching these therefore, we are pretty well satisfied by *St. Hierome*; but how many in the mean time may there be of the like nature, among those so many Homelies of *St. Chrysostome*, *St. Augustine*, and others; all which we perhaps imagine to have been Leasurably, and Deliberately studied, digested, and composed, which yet some sudden occasion might perhaps have put forth into the world upon an instant, and which were as soon Born, as Conceived, and as soon Published, as Made? *St. Hierome* often telleth

*Hier. Ep. 128.
ad Fabiol. T. 3.
vid. & in Epist.
taph. Marcel.*

us, that he Dictated, what he wrote in haste. Thus at the end of that long Epistle, which he wrote to *Fabiola*, he confesseth, that he had dispatched it in one Evening onely, when he was now setting sail for a journey. And (which is a

matter

matter of much more Importance) he saith in another place. † *That he had allotted himself but Three days, for the translating of the Three Books of Solomon; namely, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles; which yet a man will hardly be able to read over, well, and Exactly, in a Moneth, by reason of the great Difficulties he will there meet withall, as well in the Words, and Phrases, as in the sense. And yet for all this (if, what the Church of Rome pretends to be True) this little Three-days Work of St. Hierome hath proved so Fortunate, as to deserve, not only to, be approved; and highly esteemed, but even Canonized also by the Councell of Trent. Now whether the will of God be, that we should receive this Translation of his, as His Pure Word, or not, I shall leave to those, who have a desire, and ability, to examine: However I dare confidently affirm, that St. Hierome himself never had any the least thought, or hope, that ever this Piece of his, should one day come to this honour, it being a thing not to be imagined, but that he would have taken both more time, and more pains in the thing, if ever he had either desired, or foreseen this. And thus it sometimes falls out, that Men have better Fortune, then ever they wished for. The same Author saith, at the end of another Piece of his, That it was an Extemporary, and Running business, as he there speaks, and huddled out so fast, as that His Tongue overrun the Hands of his Amanuenses, and by its Volubility and swiftness, in a manner confounded them and their Cifres, and Abbreviations. He else where excuseth in like manner another Work of his of no small Importance neither, which is, his Commentary upon the Gospell of St. Matthew; telling us, that by reason he had been straitned in time, he was constrained to dictate it in very great hast. And so likewise in the Preface to his Second Commentary, upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians, he confesseth, that he wrote it in so great hast, as that he many times made as much of it, as came to a Thousand lines in a day. In a word,*

† *Id. Præf. in Prov. Itaque &c. tridui opus nomini vestro consecravi, interpretationem videlicet trium Salomonis voluminum.*

Id. Ep. 47. Extemporalis est dictatio, et tanta ad lucum lucernarum facilitate profusa, ut Notariorum manus lingua præcurreret, et signa ac furta verborum volubilitas sermonum obrueret.

that I may not cloy the Reader with producing all the Instances of the same kinde, that I could here bring in, it is his ordinary way of excusing himself either in his Prefaces, or else at the closing up of all his Discourses, to say; that either the Messenger was in hast, or some other design called him away; or else some other the like cause, whatsoever it were, was pretended. So that he never did any thing almost but in hast, and at full speed. Sometimes again, either some sicknesse had taken him off his metal; or else, the study of the Hebrew had let his Tongue grow Rusty, or his Pen is not now able to reach its wonted Pitch. Now I would fain know, if so be he would have us receive all his sayings, as Oracles; and did not indeed desire us to excuse rather some things in him, and to forgive him some others; why should he use these speeches unto us? Who ever heard a Judge excuse himself, by reason of the shortness of the Time? Would not this be rather to accuse, then to excuse himself, by making such an Apology as this, for himself; for as much as the Giving of over-hasty Judgement, in any Cause, is a very great fault? And in my Opinion, the Fathers could not more clearly have deprived themselves of this Dignity of being, our Judges, wherewith we will invest them, whether They will or no, then by writing and speaking after this manner. But yet although *S. Hierome* had not given us these Advertisements, which yet ought to make us look well also to the rest of the Fathers; it appeareth evidently enough, out of their very Writings themselves, how little, both time, and diligence they bestowed, in composing the greatest part of them. For, otherwise how could so many small, trifling Faults, both in History, Grammer, Philosophy, and the like, have escaped so great and Eminent Persons, who were so well furnished with all sorts of Literature? How happened it, that they so either forgot, or else mistook themselves, as they have sometimes done?

I shall here give the Reader some few examples of this kind; not to take off any thing from the Praises due to these Learned

Learned Persons; as if we thought them really to have committed these Errours out of Ignorance; but rather to let the world see, that they did not alwaies make use of their whole stock of Worth, and Learning; and that sometimes they either could not, or else would not make use but of some part onely of their Knowledg, and of their Time: which is a most certain Argument, that they had never any Intention of being received by us, as Judges Points of Faith. I shall not say much of their Errours in matter of Time, which are both very Notable ones and also very Frequent with them: as, for example, where

Justin Martyr * saith, that *David lived Fifteen Hundred years before the Manifestation of the Son of God*; it being very apparent, by observing the Course of Times, derived along through Histories, both Sacred and Profane, that from the death of *David*, to the Birth of our Saviour *Christ*, there passed no more then a Thousand and Twenty five, or Thirty years, or thereabout. So

likewise, when † *Epiphanius* writeth, that *Moses was but Thirty years old, when he brought forth the Children of Israel out of Egypt*: whereas the Scriptures clearly testify, that he was Fourscore years of age: And so, where he affirmeth * *That the Taking of the city of Jerusalem, happened sixty five years after the Passion of our Saviour Christ*. And truly the Chronology of all the Ancients is generally very strange, and for the most part very far wide of the Truth; as hath been observed, and also proved at large, by

all the Moderns, as *Scaliger*, *Petavius*, and others. But these Matters are so very Nice, and Ticklish, that oftentimes the most diligent Inquirers into them, may chance to mistake: I shall therefore forbear to insist any longer upon this Particular; and shall now lay before you some examples of another Nature, and such as shall most evident-

ly

* *Just. Apol. 2.* Δαβὶδ ἔτεσιν
χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοστοῖς πρὶν
ἢ Χριστὸν ἀνδρῶπων γενέσθαι
νον σαυρωθῆναι, τὰ ὡς
εἰρημένα ἔρη.

† *Epiphan. in Ancor. num.*
112. ὁ δὲ Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ
λ' αὐτῷ ἔτεσι πατὴρ τῶν ἐν-
δραν δάλασσαν, ἀμα ἰσ-
χυρίταις ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξ-
ιῶν. vide *Petav. in eum lo-*
cum.

* *Epiphan. l. de Ponder. et*
Mens. num. 12. γέγονεν ἡ
ἐρήμωσις Ἰεροσολύμων μετὰ
ἑξήκοντον πεμπλὸν ἔτος τῆς
Χριστοῦ σαυρώσεως καὶ ἡμέ-
ρας τινάς.

ly discover the Security and Negligence of these Authours.
Justin Martyr, speaking of the Translation of the LXX

† *Just. Mart. Apol. 2.*

Ὅτε ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ
 Ἀιγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ἐ-
 λιοδμήκῃ κατεσκεύασε
 &c. προσέτεμε τῶ τῶν
 Ἰσραήλων τότε βασιλεύοντι
 Ἡρώδῃ ἀξίων, διαπεμφ-
 θῶμαι αὐτῷ τὰς βίβλους τῶν
 προφητειῶν.

* *Eriphan. in Panar. lib.*

1. & *Anaceph. p. 127.*
 127, 133.

contrary to the faith of all Ancient History, † that
 † *Id. contr. Heres. l. 1.* the severall Sects, and Opinions in Philosophy sprung
 a *Id. Her. 5.* from some certain Mysteries brought to *Athens*, by
Orpheus, and others; and, that the *Stoicks* believed
 the *Immortality*, and *Transmigration* of Souls; both
 * *Id. Panar. l. 1.* which are as false, the one as the other: and likewise * that
 1. *Nabuchadonosor* sent a Colony, into the Country about
Samaria, after the taking of *Hierusalem*; whereas in
 truth, it was *Salmanassar*, who had so done, long before
 the others time. What can you think of him, when you
 find him mistaken in such things, as happened not many
 † *Id. Her. Ar- rian. 69. num.* years before he was born: as namely, when he saies † that

* *Just. Mart. Apol. 2.*

ὅς (Σίμων) ἐν τῇ πολει
 βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ θεὸς ἐνομι-
 ᾶθη, καὶ ἀνδρίντι παρ' ὁ-
 μῶν ὅς θεὸς τετίμηται ὁ
 ἀνδρὸς ἀνυγέγερται ἐν
 τῷ πέρασι ποταμῷ, μεταξὺ
 τῶν δι' οὐ κρυφῶν, ἔχων
 ἐπιγραφὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν τῷ-
 τῷ Σίμωνι δὲ σ' ἀγλῶ.

Interpreters, saith, † that *Ptolomy*, King of
Egypt, sent his Ambassadors to *Herod* King
 of *Judaea*. whereas the truth of the Story
 is, that he sent to *Eleazar* the High Priest;
 Two hundred forty and odd years, before
Herod came to be King of *Judaea*. * *Epi-*
phanus tells us, in two or three places, that
 the *Peripateticks*, and *Pythagoreans* were one
 and the same Sect of Heathen Philosophers;
 which yet were as much different one from
 the other, as the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans*
 were; as every Childe knoweth. The same
 Authour confidently affirmeth also, though

contrary to the faith of all Ancient History, † that
 † *Id. contr. Heres. l. 1.* the severall Sects, and Opinions in Philosophy sprung
 a *Id. Her. 5.* from some certain Mysteries brought to *Athens*, by
Orpheus, and others; and, that the *Stoicks* believed
 the *Immortality*, and *Transmigration* of Souls; both
 * *Id. Panar. l. 1.* which are as false, the one as the other: and likewise * that
 1. *Nabuchadonosor* sent a Colony, into the Country about
Samaria, after the taking of *Hierusalem*; whereas in
 truth, it was *Salmanassar*, who had so done, long before
 the others time. What can you think of him, when you
 find him mistaken in such things, as happened not many
 † *Id. Her. Ar- rian. 69. num.* years before he was born: as namely, when he saies † that
 * *Just. Mart. Apol. 2.* *Arius* died before the Council of *Nice*: and
 when he relates the story of *Meletius*, and his
 Schisme, clean otherwise then the Truth of
 it was? *Justin Martyr* likewise assures us,
 for a Certain Truth, * that in the Reign of
 the Emperour *Claudius*, there was erected at
 Rome a Statue to *Simon Magnus*, in the Ri-
 ver *Tiber*, betwixt the two Bridges, with this
 Inscription. TO THE HOLY GOD
 S I M O N: whereas, as our Learned
 Criticks

* Criticks now inform us, it was onely an Inscription to one of the Pagan Demi-gods, in these Words, SEMONI DEO SANCO; which this Good Father mistook, instead of *Semoni*, reading *Simoni*, and for *Sanco*, reading *Sancto*. † *Eusebius* saith, and * *S. Hierome* diverse times

repeateth it after him, that *Iosephus*, the Jewish Historian reporteth, that at the time of our Saviours Passion, the Heavenly Powers forsook the Temple of *Hierusalem*; and that there was a great noise heard, and a voice saying, *Μεταβαίνουεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει*, *Let us depart hence*; and yet neverthelſſe the Truth of the story is, that *Iosephus* reported this to have happened at the ſame time, when the City was beſieged, that is to ſay, above Thirty five years after the Death of our Saviour.

* The ſame Authours, and in a manner all others after them, have conſtantly delivered as a certain Truth, that *Philo Judæus* in that Book of his, entitled *De Vita Contemplativa*, describeth unto us the manner of Life of the *Chriſtian Ασκηταί*, or *Monks*: and yet that book of *Philo*, which we have at this day under this Title, proclaimeth loud enough, that he there ſpeaks, not of the *Chriſtians*, but of the *Effenes*, who were one of the Three Sects among the *Jews*; as hath been obſerved by † *Scaliger*, and by divers others after him. We have

touched, how * *St. Ambroſe*, without giving us any Account of his Reaſons why he doth ſo, underſtands by *Gog* and *Magog*, mentioned in † *Ezekiel*, the Nation of the *Goths*, who in his time overrun all Chriſtendom. He tells us in another place, with the very ſame confidence that * *Zacharias*, the father of *Iohn Baptiſt*, was the *High Prieſt* of the *Jewes*; which yet † *Baronius*, hath clearly proved to be falſe. Thus you ſee how little the Later Writers are beholding to thoſe that went before them, as to this Particular.

* *D. ſidiv. Herald. in Apol. Terent.*

† *Euseb. in Chron. & Sacerd. 8. p. 250.*

* *Hier. ep. 150. Hedibæ. Comment. 4. in Matth. ep. 17. quæ est Paul. & Euseb.*

* *Euseb. Hist.*

Ecclef. l. 2. c.

15. 16.

Hier. lib. de Script. Ecclef.

† *Scalig. de*

Emend. Temp.

l. 6. c. 1.

* *Ambros. l. 2.*

de fide ad Gratian.

† *Ezech. 33.*

* *Ambros.*

Comment. in Luc.

* *Baron. in Appar. num.*

69.

Epiphanius

† *Epiphanius* in *Ancor.* Καὶ φησὶν μὴ εἶναι ὁ γὰρ ἦν παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς καλεῖσθαι καὶ Ἀιθιοφίν· Ἕλληες δὲ τὸν καλεῖσιν Ἰνδόν ποταμόν, &c. διαπερὶ δὲ τὴν μεγάλην Αἰθιοπίαν, καὶ δύο ἐπιδεν Γαδέρην εἰς τὸν μέγαν ὠκεανόν.

† *Epiphanius* affirmeth, that *Pison*, which was one of the Four Rivers that watered the Terrestriall Paradise, mentioned by *Moses*, was the same that the *Indians* and *Ethiopians* call *Ganges*, and the *Greeks* *Indus*: which river passing at length through *Ethiopia*, dischargeth it self at last into the Ocean at *Cales*. What wonderfull strange

Geography have we got here, (if at least we may call it by this name,) which iumbleth together the East and the West, and confoundeth, and maketh all one, Places, which are very neer a whole Hemisphere

* *Basil. Hom. 3. in Isa.* ἀπο τῶν θυσμῶν τῶν θεινῶν ἐπὶ τὸ πύρην· ἵον ὅρ· Ταρτησός τε, καὶ Ἰσρ·, &c.

distant from each other. * *St. Basil* also, who is otherwise an Excellent Author, hath mistaken likewise, though not so much, the course of the River *Danubius*; for he hath only made it to spring out of the *Pyrenean* Mountains.

† *Theoph. Antioch l. 2. Ambrosi. l. de Parad. c. 3. Epist. Panar. her. 66. Hieron. de locis Hebr. voc. Gen. alii.*
* *Du Perron en sa Repr. p. 950.*

The speaking of these Rivers puts me in mind, that † all the Fathers do unanimously understand by *Gihon*, one of the Rivers of Paradise, the River *Nilus*; which hath so deceived Cardinall * *Perron* also, as that He so deliv-
ers it to us, as the expresse Text of the Scriptures, by this, means making it guilty of a manifest Absurdity, how innocent soever in it self It be, and free from intending any such thing; seeing that it is evident that neither in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, nor *Latine* Text, it is ever said, that the River *Nile* watered the Land of Paradise; it being only a Dream of the Fathers, that one of these Rivers of Paradise, must needs have been the *Nile*; though this Fancy of theirs (as † *Scaliger* makes it appear, and as it is confessed by † *Petavius* also) is built upon no Ground, or Reason at all. Neither hath their *Philosophy* also been sometimes less wonderfull, then their *Geography*: as for example; when * *Tertullian* maintaines, that Plants are endued both with Sense, and Vnderstanding too. So likewise where † *Epiphanius* holds, that it is possible for a Dead

† *Scalig. de Emend. Temp. Petau. in Epist. p. 371.*

* *Tertul. l. de A. c. 19.*

† *Epiphanius in Ancor. num. 90.*

a Dead man to return to Life again, without the Reunion of the Soul to the Body. As also where

* *St. Ambrose* saith, that the Sun, to the end he may allay his Extreame Heat, refresheth himself with the Nourishment which he draweth up from the Waters: and that from hence it is, that we sometimes see Him appear, as it were all over wet, and dropping with Dew. And so again, where you have some of them entertaining the Doctrine of the Sphericall Figure of the Heavens, with very great scorn; and † maintaining, that it is only as it were, an Arch. which is built upon the Waters, as on its Base. * Some others of them you have, who will not endure to hear of the Earths being of a Round, Sphericall figure, or of the *Antipodes*; and account those men little less then Infidells, that shall offer to maintain any such Opinions. But these are not bare Mistakes, and Oversights only; but are rather Errours, which proceeded from the want of a due Examination, and a right Apprehension of things. As for their Grammaticall Errours, they are more frequent, and usuall with them, then any other: and the reason of their so often mistaking here, is, the little knowledg they had in the *Hebrew* Tongue: as, for Instance, when † *Optatus*, and some others of them, will needs deduce the Name *Cephas*, from the Greek κεφαλή, which signifies a Head: whereas *Cepha* is a Syriack word, and signifies * a Stone, as the Evangelist expressly testifieth. *St. Ambrose* is in the like manner mistaken, where he derives the word † *Pascha*, which is of *Hebrew* Extraction, and which signifieth properly, a *Passing*, from a Greek word, signifying to *Suffer*; in which Etymology of his he is faithfully followed by Pope Innocent III, in an Oration of his, which he made at the Opening of the Council of *Lateran*.

We have formerly given a touch at some Errours of theirs of this nature, observed by *St. Hierome*, to whom the Church is very much obliged, both for the great pains

G g

that

* *Ambrose Hexaem. l. 2. c. 3*
Frequenter solem videmus
madidum, atque rorantem,
in quo evidens dat indicium
quod alimentum sibi aquarum
ad temperiem suisumpserit.

† *Iustin. Quest. & Respons. q. u. 130. ad Autolyc.*

* *Lactant. Instit. l. 3. c. 34.*
August. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 9.

† *Optat. l. 2. contr. Don. Omnium Apostolorum caput Petrus, unde et Cephas appellatus est.*

* *Joan. 1. 42.*
† *Ambros. 1. de Pasch. c. 1.*
Quod quidem sacrum nomen ab ipso Domini passione descendit.
Innoc. III. Ser. 1. in Concil. Later.

that he took, in endeavouring to attain unto so exquisite knowledg in the *Hebrew* Tongue; as also for the great Courage that he had, in taking so much liberty to himself, as freely to note all such Impertinences, whensoever he met with them; who, or how great persons soever, the Authors of them were. All the rest of the Fathers, a very few only excepted, do here but, as it were, grope out their way in the Dark: and hence it is, that we have so many wild Etymologies given by them, of the Proper Names that we meet with in the Scriptures. Who

* *Iren. Contr. Her. l. 2. c. 41.* *Jesús* ; which he will have to be composed of two Letters and a half; adding moreover, that in the *Ancient Language of the Hebrews* it signifieth the Heavens, notwithstanding that the Angell expressly testified, at the very beginning of *S. Mathews* Gospel, that our Saviour Christ was called *Jesús*, because *He was to save his people from their sins.* Of the like nature is that, where he saith, *That the Name of God, Adonai, signifieth Wonderfull: or if you write it thus, Addhanei, it then signifieth, Him that boundeth, and separateth the Earth from the Water.* And the like Etymologies doth he give us of the Word *Sabaoth*, and of *Jaath*. Like to these are those Mysteries which he informs us of, in the afore-cited Treatise of his, which no Author else, either Ancient or Modern, ever heard of: telling us withall, that *Barneth* is the Name of God in *Hebrew*; and that the First, and most Ancient Hebrew Letters, which were called *Sacerdotes*, were onely Ten in number, and were written Five manner of waies. Out of the same storehouse hath

Id. ibid.

† *Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 4.*
ἐπελεγεσθαι μὴν ἱερῶν, καὶ τὴν
ἐκλεκτὸς ἐχρῆς. *Id. p. 222.*
Ῥεβέκκα δὲ ἐπελεγεσθαι,
ὡς δὲ ὁ ἔξ.

† *Clemens Alexandrinus* produced us that Precious Etymology which he hath given, of the Name of *Abraham*, saying; *It is by Interpretation, The Elect Father of a Sound:* and that other of the Name *Rebecca*, which He will have to signifie, *The Glory of God.*

* *Ss.*

* *St. Hilary* saith, that *Seon*, signifieth a *Fruitless Tree*. But *St. Hierome* informs us, that *St. Hilary* understanding nothing at all in *Hebrew*, and being not so very excellent at the *Greek* neither, he was fain to make use of a certain Priest named *Heliodorus*, to interpret to him out of *Origen* whatsoever He himself understood not: who, not discharging his Trust sometimes so faithfully as he should have done, was the cause of this Fathers committing some certain Errors of this Nature, in his Commentaries. *Theophilus Antiochenus* saith, that before *Melchisedecks* time, the City of Jerusalem was called *Hierosolyma*; but that afterwards it was called *Hierusalem*, from Him; which is a very strange Fancy of His, and such a one, as it is no very easie matter to guess, what Ground he should have for it. What strange Dreams doth *St. Ambrose* entertain his Readers withall, where he expounds the Names of *Chorah*, and of *Oreb*; the one whereof with Him signifieth, *The Understanding*, and the other, *The whole Heart*, or, *As the Heart*: and so likewise in his Exposition of the 118. Psalm, where he gives us the meaning of each of the Hebrew Letters, wherewith the first Verses begin of every one of the 22 Octonaries, whereof the said 118. Psalm, according to the Hebrew reckoning, consisteth. But he is by no means to be pardoned, where he is so much out in the *Greek* Tongue, which he understood reasonably well, as to derive the word *εἶσα*, *Essence*, from *αἶς*, *Always*, and *εἶσα*, *Being*: which is so gross a Mistake, as would not have been pardoned a School Boy at the Grammer School. And as for *St. Hierome*, it is true, that He is sometimes at this sport too; though I should think he does it of purpose, and to make himself merry only, rather than any way mistaking himself: as for example, * when he derives the Latine word *Nuge*, from the Hebrew נוג נוגè, which you read in the Prophet *Zephaniah*, Cap. 3. Vers 8. And so likewise when he searcheth in the *Hebrew*, for the signification of *Paul*,

* *Hilar. in Ps.*
132. *Seon in-*
fructuosæ ar-
boris inter-
pretatio est.
† *Hieron. Ep.*
141. *ad Mar-*
cell.

* *Theoph. An-*
tioch. l. 2. ad
Autol.

† *Ambros. Ep.*
l. 10 Ep. 82.

* *Ambros. in*
Psalm. 118.

† *Id. lib. de In-*
carn. Dom.
Sacr. c. 9.

* *Hier. in So-*
phon. c. 3. ver. 8.

† *Id. Comm. in*
Ep. ad Philem.

- Philemon, Onesimus, Timothy*, and other words which are purely *Greek*. And even in the very Scriptures themselves, which they were both better acquainted with, and which they also had in greater Veneration, then any other Books whatsoever, they often mistake themselves in citing them. As for example, when * *Justine Martyr* alledgeth a Passage out of the Prophet *Zephaniah*, which yet is not found any where but onely in the Prophet *Zachariah*; and in another place, where he names *Jeremiah*, instead of *Daniel*. So likewise when * *St. Hilary* tells us, that *St. Paul* in the 13. Chapter of the *Acts* alledgeth a certain Passage out of the *First Psalm*, which yet is found only in the *Second*: whereas *St. Paul* in that place speaks not one syllable of the *First Psalm*, but expressly nameth the *Second*. So also when * *Epiphanius* saies, out of the 27. Chap. Ver. 37. of the *Acts of the Apostles*, that the number of those, that were in the ship with *St. Paul*, when he suffered Ship-wrack, was one while 70. and by and by 80. Soules; whereas the Text saith Expressly, that they were in all 276. So likewise when in another place he affirmeth, out of the Gospel, † that our Saviour Christ said to his Mother, *Touch me not*; whereas it appears plainly out of the Text, that these words were spoken only to *Mary Magdalene*. So where * *St. Hierome* troubles himself very much in reconciling a certain Passage alledged by *St. Hierome* out of *Habakkuk*, to the Originall, telling us that *St. Paul* had cited it in these words: *The Just shall live by My Faith*: whereas it is most evident, that the Apostle, both in the first Chapter of the *Epistle to the Romanes*, as also in the *Epistle to the Galatians*, hath it only thus: *The Just shall live by Faith*; and not, *The Just shall live by My Faith*. *Athanasius* in his *Synopsis*, (or who ever else was the Author of that Piece) reckoning up the severall books of Scriptures, evidently takes the *Third Book of Esdras*, which hath been always accounted

* Id. Apol. 2.

Id. ibid.

† Hilar. in Psal. 2.

* Epiphaz. in Ancor.

† Id. in Panar. l. 3. Her. 80.
ἐτα ἡ ὁ κύριος διέταξεν
ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, &c.
φῆσας τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς, μὴ
μὲ ἀψῆς.

* Hieron. Comm. 1. in Abac.

accounted Apocryphall by the common consent of all Christendome, for the *First*, which is received by all, both *Christians*, and *Jews*, into the Canon of the Scriptures. We might reckon to this number, (if at least so foolish a Piece deserve to have any place among the Writings of the Fathers) that grosse mistake which we meet with in an Epistle of Pope *Gregory II*, who railleth fiercely against *Uzziah*, for breaking the *Brazen Serpent*; calling him, for this Act of his, *The Brother of the Emperour* Greg. II. in ep. ad Leon. Isaur. de col. *Leo the Iconoclast*; which, as he thought, was all one, as Imag.

to reckon him amongst the most mischievous and wretched Princes that ever had been: and yet all this while the Scripture tells us, that this was the Act, not of *Uzziah*, but of the Good King *Hezekiah*; and that he deserved to be rather commended for the same, then blamed. As for their slips of Memory, he had need to have a very happy one himself, that should go about to reckon them

all up. For Example, † *St. Ambrose* tells us somewhere, that the *Eagle* dying, is revived again out of her own Ashes. Who sees not, that in this place he would have said, the *Phoenix*? But however, in another place giving us an Account of the Story of the *Phoenix*, as it is commonly delivered; he saies that, *This we have learned from the*

† *Ambros. l. 2. de Paenit. c. 2.*
Quod etiam aquila, cum fuerit mortua, ex suis reliquiis renascatur.
Id. lib. de fide Resur. Atqui hoc relatione crebra, et Scripturarum autoritate cognovimus, memoratam avien, &c.

Authority of the Scriptures. By a like Mistake it was, that he affirmed, that these words, * *For this very purpose have I raised thee up, that I might shew my power in thee,* were spoken to *Moses*; to whom notwithstanding the Lord never said any such word, but rather to *Pharaoh*. In like manner doth he attribute to the *Jews*, those words in the 9. Chapter of *St. Iohn*, which were indeed spoken by *Christs* Disciples, who asked him, saying:

† *Master, who did sin, this Man, or his Parents, that he was born blind?* I impute that other mistake of his to the Heat of his Rhetorick, where he brings in one of the seven Brethren in the *Maccabees*, who suffered under

* *Ambros. ser. 10.* Denique iterum Moyse dicit, quia in hoc ipsum te suscitavi, ut ostendam in te virtutem meam.
† *Ambros. Ep. l. 9. Ep. 75.*
Quam stolidi autem Judaei qui interrogant, Hic peccavit, an Parentes?
Id. l. 2. de Sancti Jacobi. c. 11.

King

King *Antiochus*, and makes him in his height of Gallantry, alledge the Example of *John*, and of *James*, the Sons of Thunder, two of our Saviour Christs Apostles, who came not into the world, as every one knows, till a long time after this. It was a slip of memory also

* *Tertul contr.* in *Tertullian*, where he tells us, * that the Lord said to *Moses*, *They have not rejected Thee, but they have rejected Mee*; which words were indeed spoken to † *Samuel*, and not to *Moses*: *St. Hierome* also was overtaken in

* *Hieron. l. contr. Helvid.*
In quo primum adversarius
superfluo labore desudat,
cognoscendi verbum ad coi-
tum magis quam ad scienti-
am esse referendum, quasi
hoc quisquam negaverit.

the like manner * when he tells us, that none of the Fathers ever understood the word, *Knew*, in the last Verse of the First Chapter of *St. Mathew*, otherwise, then of the *Conjugall Act*; not remembring, that his own dear Friend *Epiphanius* takes the word in a quite different sense, and will have

the meaning of the place to be, that *Ioseph*, before the Miraculous Birth of our Saviour Christ, knew not, what

Glory and Excellency was to befall the Blessed *Virgine*; knowing nothing else of her before, save only that she was the daughter of *Ioachim*, and of *Anna*, and Cousin to *Elizabeth*, who was of the house of *David*: whereas he at that time knew cleerly, that God had done him that honour of sending his Angell to Him, and of choosing his Espoused wife *Mary*, to be the only woman on earth, on whom he would conferr that so great, and wonderfull Benefit, and Ad-

vantage above all others. But we intend not here to give you an Inventory of all the Errours of this Nature, which are to be found in the Writings of the Ancients: these Patterns may well enough serve to shew, what the Whole Pieces are.

I shall onely add here, that, besides this Carelesnesse, and Security, which is so Ordinary with them, in writing thus confidently whatsoever came in their minde, or what

Epiphan. in Panar. Her.
78. *Antidicom.* ἀλλ' ὅ-
μως ἔγνω πῶς Μαρτὰμ ἡ
Ἰωσήφ, ἡ κατὰ γνώσιν πᾶ-
σιν ἡρώσεως, ἡ κατὰ γνώσιν
κοινωνίας, ἀλλ' ἔγνω αὐ-
τῶν, τιμῶν πῶς ἐκ τῆς δεῦ-
τεριμολογίας ἡ γὰρ ἡδεῖ
αὐτῶν τοιαύτης δόξης ἡ-
συχ.

ever others had delivered over unto them for Sound and Good, without ever examining it thoroughly; they yet had another kind of Custom, which seems not to suit so well with the Person of Judges, as we will needs have them to be.

And this is, that in their Writings they are sometimes so Jolly, and Sportfull; coming over us with such Rare *Allegorical Observations*, as have scarcely any more Solidity or Body, then those Castles of Cards that little Children are wont to make. These Cardinal *Perrou* calls, *des gay-etez joyeuses*, Cheerful Frolickings. I know very well that *Allegories* are useful, and many times also Necessary; if so be, they be but sober, clear, and well grounded. But I speak not here, save onely of such as rack the Text, and, as it were, drag it along by the hair, and which make the sense of the Scripture evaporate in empty Fumes. And of these are the Writings of the Fathers full. *St. Hierome* often complains of the strange Liberty that *Origen*, and his Disciples took herein. Certainly he himself often flies out in this kinde; and whosoever hath a minde to see it, may read but his 146. Epistle, where he expounds the * Parable of the *Prodigal Son*: or let him but turn to the Discourse which he hath made touching the † Genealogy of the Prophet *Zephaniab*, and concerning the City of *Damascus*; and also upon the History of * *Abishag* the Shunammite; and upon the *Five and twenty men*, and the *Two Princes*, spoken of in † *Ezekiel Chap. 11.* and upon the Destruction of *Tyre*, of * *Egypt*, and of † *Assyria*, foretold by the same Prophet; as also his subtile Observations upon † *Numbers*, and upon King * *Darius*, and upon that Command of our Saviour † *Christ*, where he bid-eth us turn the Left Check to him that hath smitten us on the Right: and many other the like Discourses of his. *a St. Hilary* is so much taken with this manner of writing, as that his Expositions upon the Scripture are half full of these *Allegories*: and to be sure to make himself the more work, he sometimes frames b certain Impossibilities

Peron's Repl.
p. 743.

Hier. in ep.
146. ad *Damas.* penè tot.
† *Id. Comm. in Soph.*
* *Id. ep. ad Nepot.*
† *Id. Comm. 3. in Ezech.*
* *Id. Comm. in Ezech.*
† *Id. Comm. 9. in eundem.*
* *Id. Com. 10. in eund.*
† *Id. Comm. in Agg.*
a Id. Comm. 1. in Math.

b Hier. in Ps.
136.

ibilities and Absurdities, which he would make the Scripture seem to be guilty of, which yet It is not; onely, that he may have some pretense to have recourse to his Allegories. As for example, in the 136 Psalm, he will needs have the Letter of the Text to be utterly Inexplicable, where it saies, that the Jews sate down by the Rivers of *Babylon*, and hanged up their Harpes upon the Willows: as if, in this Country that was watered with *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, there had been neither River, nor Willow, nor any Aquaticke Tree.

c Id. ibid. fol.
108.

The same c Author also demandeth, as if it had been a most Indissoluble Question, if taken in the Literal Sense, who the Daughter of *Babylon* is; and, why she is called Miserable? which is so easie a Question, as that any Childe almost might very easly resolve it, without torturing the Text with Allegories. So likewise, in his exposition of the 146 Psalm, he understandeth by the d Clouds, wherewith God is said to cover the Heavens, the Writings of the Prophets; and by the Rain, which he prepareth for the earth, the Evangelical Doctrine; by the Mountains which bring forth Grasse; the Prophets and Apostles; by the Beasts, he understands Men; and by the young Ravens, the Gentiles; assuring us withal, that it would not be onely Erronious, but rather very Irreligious to take these words in the Literal sense. May not this be called rather Sporting with, then expounding of the Scriptures?

d Id. in Psal.
146. fol. 128.
Hæc ita intelligere, non dicam erroris, sed irriligiositatis est.

Id. Can. 5. in
Matth. 6. 26.
fol. 7.

So likewise in another place, speaking of the Fowles of the Aire, which our Saviour said, neither reaped nor gathered into barns, He understands, by these, the Divels; and by the lilies of the field, which spin not, the Angels. I should much abuse the Readers patience, if I should here set down the strange Discourses he hath upon the story of the two Possessed with Divels, who were healed by our Saviour in the Country of the *Gergesens*; and upon the Leap which the Divels made the neighbouring herd of Swine take into the Sea; and of the Swine-herds running

Id. Can. 8. in
Matth. 8. 28.
fol. 10.

ning away into the City, and of the Citizens coming forth, and intreating our Saviour to depart out of their Coasts : or if I should but give you the whole entire Exposition which he hath made of these words, *Vers. 29. Id. Can. 10. Chap. 10. of St. Matthew : Are not two Sparrowes sold for a Farthing, &c.* where by the two Sparrowes, He understandeth Sinners, whose Souls and Bodies having been made to flye upward and to mount on high, sell themselves to sin for meer Trifles, and things of no value, by this means becoming both as one, the Soul by sin thickening, as it were into a Body : and such other like wild Fancies, the reading whereof would astonish a man of any judgment, rather then edifie him. Neither is *St. Ambrose* any whit more serious, where expounding those words of our Saviour, *Matth. 17. 20. If you have Faith as a grain of Mustard-seed, yes shall say to this Mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, &c. by this Mountain* (saith *St. Ambrose*) *is meant the Diuel.* It would be too tedious a businesse, to set down here at length all that might be collected, of this nature, out of Him : he that hath any minde to see more examples of this kind, may read but his Homelies upon the 118. *Psalm* ; which Piece of His, will indeed be otherwise very well worth any mans reading, as being a very excellent one, and full of Eloquence, and Sound Doctrine. But yet perhaps a man would find it a troublesome businesse to make any handsome defence for him, where he makes bold sometimes to use the Sacred words of the Scripture in his own Sportful Fancies : * as where he applyes to *Valentinian* & *Gratian*, that which is spoken of *Christ* & the Church, in the *Canticles* : *O that thou wert as my Brother, that sucked the breasts of my Mother ! When I should find thee without, I would kiss thee, &c. I would lead thee, and bring thee into my Mothers house, &c. I would cause thee to drink of Spiced Wine, and of the juyce of my Pomegranates. His Left hand should be under my head, & his right hand should embrace me.*

H h

In

Ambros. in Ps. 36. p. 503.

Matth. 17. 20.

Si habueritis fidem sicut

granum sinapis, dicetis

huic monti, Tollere & ja-

tare in mare. Huic ; Cui ?

Dæmonio inquit, a quo iste

invasus fuerat, &c.

* *Id. tract. de obit. Valent. p. 11, 12. Quis dabit te frater fratrem mihi, lactantem ubera matris meæ ? &c. Cant. 8. 1. Promittit fratri augustæ memoriæ, Gratianus, præsto sibi fructus diversarum esse virtutum.*

In this place (saith He) is meant the Emperour Gratian of Renowned Memory, who telleth his brother that he is furnished with the fruits of diverse Vertues. And to the same purpose doth he make Application of diverse other Passages of this Sacred *Canticle*; and with so great *License*, as to say the truth, no Poët ever fished out with more Liberty, and Freedom then he hath done in that Book of his. I shall here purposely pass by, what I might produce, of this nature, out of *Gregory Nazianzen*, *S. Augustine*, and almost all the rest of the Fathers: for, this that we have already brought, is enough, and indeed more then we needed for our present purpose. Let the Reader therefore now judge, whether or no the Fathers, by this their manner of Writing, have not clearly enough witnessed against themselves, that their Intention, when they wrote these their books, never was either to bound and determine our Faith; or to decide our differences touching the same I must needs confesse, that they were Persons who were indued with very Large Gifts of the Spirit; and with a most Lively, and Clear Understanding, for the diving into the Truth. But yet those, that have the greatest share of these Gifts, have it yet to very litle purpose, if so be they employ it not all, and every part of it, to the utmost of their Power, when the business they are to treat of is of so great both Difficulty, and Importance; and such, as to the diciding and discussing whereof we can never bring either more Attention, or Diligence, then is needful. Now that the Fathers have not observed this Course in their Writings, appeareth clearly enough by what hath been formerly said: Their Books therefore are not to be received by us, either as Definitive Sentences, or Final Judgments upon our Present Controversies. I confesse that these Small, Trivial Errors ought not to take off any thing of the Opinion we have of the Greatnesse, and Gallantry of their Parts. I believe they might very easily have avoided the falling into them, if they would but have taken the pains to have looked a little better about them. And I am of opinion, that they

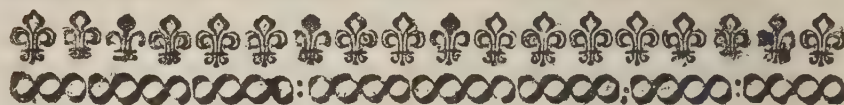
they fell into them meerly by Inadvertency onely ; which may also sometimes happen even to the Greatest Masters that are, in any Sciences whatsoever. I shall as willingly also yield to you, (if you desire it,) that they have sometimes done these things Purposely ; letting fall here and there throughout their Writings such little Slips from their Pen, Sportingly, and by way of Recreation ; or else out of a Design of exercising Our Wits.

But Certainly, whatsoever the Reason were, seeing that they had no mind to use any more either Care, or Diligence in the Composing of their Books ; we may very well, and indeed we ought to conclude from hence, that they had never any Intention that these Books of theirs should be our Judges.

These Innocent Faults, these Mistakes, these Oversights, these Forgetfulnesses, and these Sportings of theirs, do sufficiently declare for their part, that we are to make our Addresses to some others ; and, that They have not so sadly delivered their Opinions, as if they had sat on the Seat of Judgment ; but rather have spoken as in their Chamber, venting their own Private Opinions only ; and not as our Judges.

These Considerations, joyned to what hath been said, in this Particular, by some of the Chiefest and most Eminent among themselves, as we have formerly shewed, do make it, in my Judgment, evidently enough appear, that Their own will, and desire is, that we should not embrace Their Opinions, as Oracles, or receive them as Definitive Sentences ; but that we should rather examine them by the Scriptures, and by Reason ; as being the Opinions of Doctours, who were indeed very Able and Excellent Men ; but yet notwithstanding they were still Men, subject to Errour, and who had not alwaies the good Fortune to light upon what was True, and Sound ; and who peradventure, even in this very Case in hand, have not alwaies done what they might ; by reason of their employing either Lesse Time, or Lesse

Care and Diligence, then they should have done; if at least they had had any serious purpose of doing their utmost endeavour in this Particular.



CHAP. IV.

Reason IV. That the Fathers have erred, in diverse Points of Religion; not onely Singly, but also Many of them together.

I Conceive, that that which hath been delivered, in the two Preceding Chapters is sufficient, to make it appear to any Moderate Man, that the Authority of the Fathers is not so Authentick, as People commonly imagine it to be. Thou therefore whosoever thou art, if thou beest but an Indifferent, and Impartiall Reader, mayest omit the reading of This, and the following Chapter; both which I am fain to add, though much against my Will, to answer all Objections that may yet be made by Perverse and Obstinate persons. For the Prejudice, wherewith they are beforehand possessed, may hinder them perhaps from seeing the Cleerness of Reason, and from hearing the voice of the Fathers themselves; whose words they perhaps will be ready to impute to their Modesty, rather than They will consent to yield unto them no more honour, then They themselves require. The Stubbornness therefore of these men, and not any need that Thou hast of my doing so, hath constrained me to lay aside some of that Respect, that I bear towards Antiquity; and hath obliged me to give Them a sight of some Errours of the Fathers, which are of much more Importance then the Former, if by this means at least I may be able to overcome this their Obstinacy. For, when they

they shall but see, that the Fathers have erred in diverse very Considerable Points; I hope they will at length confess, that They had very good Reason, gravely to advise us, not to believe, or take upon Trust any of Their Opinions, unless we finde that they are grounded either upon the Scriptures, or else upon some other Truth. I confess, I enter upon this Inquiry very unwillingly, as taking very little pleasure in discovering the Infirmities, and Failings of any Men, especially of such, as are otherwise thought worthy of so great Estimation, and Honour: but yet there is nothing in the world, how precious or dear unto vs soever it be, that we ought not to account as Dung, if it be compared with *Truth*, and the Edification of Men. And I am verily perswaded, that even these Blessed *Saints* themselves, were they now alive again, would give Us thanks for the paines we have taken, in endeavouring to make men see, that They were but Men; and would account themselves beholding to us, for having taken the boldness upon us, for the same reason to discover those Imperfections, and Failings of theirs, which Divine Providence hath suffered them to leave behind them in their writings, to the end only that they might serve as so many Arguments to us of Their Humanity. If there be any notwithstanding, that shall take offence hereat, I must intreat them once again to consider, that the Perverseness only of those men, with whom I have to deal, hath forced me to this Irreverence, (if at least we are to call it so) together with the desire I have, to manifest to the world so Important a Truth as this is. If I would go about to defend my self by Examples, I could here make use of that of Cardinall *Perron*; who, to justify the Church of *Rome*s interdicting the reading of the Bible to any of the Laity, save only such as should be allowed so to do; makes no more ado but falls to laying open to the view of the world (not all the *Faults*) for there are no such there; but) all the *False Appearances of Faults*, that are found in the Bible, making a whole

*Du Perron.
Repliq. l. 6. c. 6.
p. 949.*

Chapter

Chapter expressly of the same. How much more lawfully then may We adventure here, to expose to Publick view some few of the Failings of the Fathers, unto whom we owe Infinitely less Respect, then unto God; only to moderate a little, and to allay the heat of that Excessive Devotion, that most men bear towards Their Writings; that so the One Party may be perswaded to seek out for some other weapons, then the Authority of These men, for the Defence of their Opinions; and that the other Party may not so easily be induced to give eare to the Bare Testimony of Antiquity? It was the Saying of a Great Prince long since, that the Vilest, and most Shamefull Necessities of his Nature, were the things that most Cleerly evinced him, that he was a *Man*, and no *God*, as his Flattering Courtiers would needs have made him believe He was. Seeing therefore it stands Us so much upon, to know, that the Fathers were but *Men*, let us not be afraid to produce here this so Cleer and so Evident Argument of their Humanity. Let us boldly enter into their most hidden Secrets; and let us see what ever Marks of their Humanity they have left us in their Writings; that we may no longer adore, and reverence Their Authority, as if it were wholly Divine. Yet I protest here, before I begin, that I will not make any advantage at all of those many Arguments of their *Passion*, which we meet withall, partly in their own Writings, and partly in the Histories of their Life. I heartily wish rather, that all of this kind might be buried in an Eternall Oblivion, and that we would account of Them, as of Persons that were most accomplished for Purity, and Innocency of Life, as far forth at least, as the Frail Condition of Humane Nature can bear. I shall only touch upon the Errors of their *Beliefe*, and those things wherein they have Failed, not in *Living*, but in *Writing*. The most Ancient of them all is *Justin Martyr*, a man so renowned in all Ancient Histories for his great Knowledg, both in Religion, and Philosophy; and also for the Fer-

vency

vency of his Zeal, which he so evidently manifested, by his suffering a Glorious Martyrdome for our Saviour Jesus Christ. And yet for all this, how many odd Opinions do we meet withall in his Books, which are either very Triviall, or else are manifestly False? Do but hear how he speaks of the Last Times, immediately preceding the Day of Judgment, and the end of the World.

* *As for me, (saith He) and the rest of us that are True Christians, we know that there shall be a Resurrection of the Flesh, and that the Saints shall spend a Thousand years in Jerusalem, which shall be rebuilt, enriched, and enlarged, as the Prophets assure us, Ezechiel, Isaiah, and others. And to this purpose he citeth that which is written Isaiah Chap. 65. and besides, that other Passage in the Revelation, where it is said, † That those which had believed in Christ, should live and reign with Him a Thousand years in Jerusalem; and that after this there should be a Generall, and Finall Resurrection, and Judgment. In which words you see plainly, that he holds with the Chiliasts, that the Saints shall reign a Thousand years in Jerusalem, before the Resurrection be perfectly accomplished. Which is an Opinion that is at this day condemned as Erroneous, by the whole Western Church, both on the one side, and on the other. He seems in another place to have held, that the Essence of God was Finite, and was not Present in all Places; where he endeavours to prove against a Jew, that it was not the Father, * who rained Fire and Brimstone upon Sodom, because that he could not then have been at that time in Heaven. That which he hath delivered, concerning the Angels, is altogether as senseless, though not so dangerous; namely,*

* *Justin. contr. Tryph. pag. 307. Εγὼ δὲ καὶ εἰ τινὲς εἰσιν ὁρδογνώμονες καὶ πάντα χριστιανοί, καὶ σαρκεὶς ἀνάστασιν ᾠκησέμεθα ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκοδομηθείση, καὶ κοσμηθείση καὶ πλατυθείση &c.*
 † *Id. χίλια ἔτη ποιήσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὰς τοῦ ἡμετέρου Χριστοῦ πιστεύσαντας, &c. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, πλὴν καδοκλήω, καὶ συναέλονται φάναι, εἰωνίαν ὁμοδομίαν δόν ἡμᾶς πάντων ἀνάστασιν ᾠκήσεμεθα, καὶ κρίσιν.*

* *Id. Contr. Tryph. p. 283. & 357. ἐπεὶ εἰάν μὴ ἔτω νόστωρ τὰς γρηφὰς συμβήσεται τὸν πατέρα καὶ κρείον τῶν ὄλων μὴ γενῆσθαι τότε ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς, ὅτε διὰ Μωσέως λέλεκται, Καὶ κύει ἔβρεξεν ἐπὶ Σόδομα, &c.*

† *that*

† *Id. in Apol. pro Christ. ad Senat. p. 44.* τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἑραγδὸν θεόνοισιν ἀγγέλοις, ὅς ὅτι τέτοις ἔταξε, παρέδωκεν. Οἱ δ' ἄγγελοι παρέσαντες τῷδε τῷ τῶδε, γυναικῶν μίξισιν ἠτλήθησαν, καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἵ ἐστιν οἱ λεγόμενοι Δαίμονες.

* *Justin. Contr. Tryph. p. 333.* φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων διδασκῶν, καὶ Προφητῶν, ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν πᾶν τοῦτων δυνάμεων, &c.

Ibid. καὶ γὰρ ἀποδίδως τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ σαυρῷ, εἶπε, Πάτερ εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου.

† *Id. Apol. 2. p. 83.* Καὶ οἱ μετὰ λόγον βιώσαντες Χριστιανοὶ εἰσιν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνομήσαντος ὅσον ἐν Ἑλλήσι μὲν Σωκράτης, καὶ Ἡράκλειτος, καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς ἐν Βαρβαρίαις δὲ Ἀβραάμ, &c.

* *Ibid.* οἱ δὲ μετὰ λόγον βιώσαντες καὶ βιωῦντες, Χριστιανοί, καὶ ἀφοβοί, καὶ ἀτάραχοι ὑπάρχουσι.

† that God having in the Beginning committed unto Them the Care, and Providence over Men, and all sublunary things, they had broken this Order, by suffering themselves to be overcome by the Love of Women, by companying with whom had been also born Children, which are those we now call Demons, or Devils. I know not neither, whether he will be able easily to bring any one over to that other Opinion of his, where he saies; that

* All the Souls of the Saints, and of the Prophets, had fallen under the power of Evil Spirits, which were such, as were the Spirits of Python: and that this was the reason, why our Saviour Christ, being now ready to give up the Ghost, recommended his Spirit to God, I pray you tell me, out of what part of God. Word he learnt This Doctrine, which he delivers in his second *Apology*: where he saies, † That all those, who lived according to the Rule of Reason, were Christians, notwithstanding that they might have been accounted as Atheists; such as among the Greeks, were Socrates, Heraclitus, and the like; and among the Barbarians, Abraham, and Azarias: repeating the same Doctrine, within a few Lines afterward, and saying, that * All those who lived, or do now live

according to the Rule of Reason, are Christians, and are in an Assured, Quiet Condition. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyon, who lived very neer His time, was also of the same opinion with Justin, touching the State of the Soul, after it is once departed out of the Body, till the hour of Judgment. For, towards the conclusion of that Excellent Book of his, which he wrote against Heresies; after that he hath told us, that our Saviour Christ had descended into Hell, and had been in the place where the

the Dead were ; which place he opposeth to the Light of

this World ; he further addeth , that † *It is*

evident, that the Souls of the Disciples of our

Saviour, for the love of whom He did all

these things, shall go also into a Certain Invi-

sible place, which is provided for them by God,

there to expect the Resurrection ; and shall af-

terwards resume their Bodies, and be raised up

again in all Perfection ; that is to say, Corpo-

rally, in the same manner as our Saviour was

raised up again, and so shall they come into the presence of

God. And this Opinion he opposeth against that of the

Valentinians, and Gnosticks, which he had before produ-

ced in the beginning of that Chapter of his, who held,

that the Souls of Men, immediately after they were de-

parted out of the Body, were carried up above the Hea-

vens, and the Creator of the World ; and went to that

Mother, or that Father, which these Hereticks had fan-

cied to themselves : Which Opinion of theirs, is in like

manner rejected by Justin Martyr, in the Passage a little

before alledged, out of his Book against Tryphon : Whence

it plainly appears (that we may not trouble our selves to

produce any other Proofes) that Justin and Irenæus were

both of the same Belief, touching the State of the Soul

after Death. But to return to Irenæus, in his second

Book against Hereticks, he maintains very stiffely, that

Our Saviour Christ was above Forty years of Age, when

he suffered death for us : bringing in, in defence of this

Opinion of his, which so manifestly contradicteth the

Evangelicall Histories, certain Probabilities only ; as

namely, That our Saviour passed through all ages, as be-

ing come into the world to sanctifie, and save people of all

ages ; urging also those words of the Jews to our Savi-

our, Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen

Abraham ? In the Conclusion of all, saying, that St.

John had delivered it by Tradition to the Priests of Asia,

that Christ was somewhat Ancient, when he began to

preach

† *Iren. l. 5. contr. Hæres. c. 26.*
Manifestum est, quia et discipulorum ejus, propter quos et hæc operatus est Dominus, animæ abibunt in invisibilem locum, definitum eis a Deo, et ibi usque ad Resurrectionem commorabuntur, Sustinentes Resurrectionem, &c.

Justin. Contra Tryph. p. 307.

Iren. contr. Hæres. l. 2. c. 39.

Joh. 8. 57.

Baron. Annal.
T. 1. an. 34.
num. 137.

preach, being then about the age of Forty, or Fifty years. This Fancy of his appeared so Ridiculous to Cardinall Baronius, as that, notwithstanding the faith of all the Copies of this Father, and the Contexture, which appears evidently to be His, together with the vein, and Marks of his Fancy, and Stile; he hath yet had the confidence to say, that this whole Passage had been foisted into the Text of *Irenaus*, either by some ignorant, or some Malicious person, and that it could not be *Irenaus* his own.

† Petav. in
Epiphan. p.
143.

But it seemeth, that He had no great Reason for this his suspicion; as the Iesuite † *Petavius* hath cleerly made it appear, in his Notes upon *Epiphanius*. However you may hence perceive, that *Baronius* thinks that very Possible, which we have endeavoured to prove in the Former Part of this Treatise; namely, that there may Possibly have been very many, and great Alterations, and Corruptions, in the Books of the Writers of the First Ages, by many Passages, and Clauses having been either inserted into them, or else maliciously rased out of them.

* *Iren. l. 2. contr. her. c. 62.*
Animas, &c. Characterem corporis, in quo etiam adaptantur, custodire eundem, &c. et c. 63.
Animas hominis habere figuram ut etiam cognoscantur.

† *Iren. contr. her. l. 2. c. 49.*

* *Cassand. in defens. libelli de Offic. pii Viri.*

The same * *Irenaus* holds, and endeavours to prove, in the same book, that the Souls of Men, after death, retain the Character (that is to say, the Figure) of the Bodies to which they were formerly united, and that they represent the shape of the said Bodies, so as to make men take them for the same. I shall here pass by that which he † saith in the 49. Chapter of the same Book; namely, that our Saviour Christ did not at all know, when the Day of Judgment should be; neither according to the one, nor according to the other of his Natures: although these words of his look, as if they would very hardly be reconciled to any good sense. Neither shall I yet take notice of what both He, and *Justin Martyr* have in divers places so Rashly delivered, touching the strength of Humane Nature, in the business of Salvation; because I conceive, with * *Cassander*, that all those Passages may, and indeed ought to be understood, with respect had to the

the scope and drift of these Authors ; whose business there was, to confute those Hereticks of Their time, who maintained, that there was a *Fatal Necessity* in the Actions of Men, by this means depriving them of all manner of *Election*, or *Judgment*. Neither hath the great

Learning of † *Clemens Alexandrinus* kept him from falling into very many the like Errors : as for Instance, where in divers places he saies plainly, that the Heathen, who lived before the coming of our Saviour Christ, were justified by *Philosophy* ; which was then Necessary for them, whereas it is now only Usefull unto them ; and that this *Philosophy* was the * *Schoolmaster* of the Gentiles, which brought them to Christ, or served to guide them till the time of his Coming ; in like manner as the Law did the Jews ; and, that the Greeks were justified by it alone ; and, that it was given unto Them, as their

† *Covenant*, being a step to, and as it were a *Foundation* laid for *Christian Philosophy*. He was of opinion also, in order to this, * *That our Saviour went down into Hell, to preach the Gospel to the Departed Souls* ; and that He saved many of them ; that is, all that believed : And that the † *Apostles* also, after Their Death, descended likewise into the same place, and for the same purpose : Conceiving, that God otherwise should have been Unjust, and an Acceptor of Persons ; if so be, He should have condemned all those who died before the Coming of his Son. For (saith He) if * He preached to the Living, to the end they might not be condemned Unjustly ; Why should He not for the same reason, preach also to those, who were depar-

καταδικαῶσιν ὁδίκως. πῶς οὖν τὰς προεξεληλυθότας τῆς παροσίας αὐτῶ μὴ δια-
τῶ αὐτῶ εὐηγγελίστατο αἰτίαν ;

† *Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1.* Ἦν
μὲν οὖν πρὸς τῆς τῆς Κυρίας
παροσίας εἰς δημοσιώλῳ
Ἑλληνιστὶν ἀναγκαῖα φιλοσο-
φία νῦν δὲ χρησίμη πρὸς
θεογένηται γινέται.

* *Mox.* ἐπιδεικνύει γὰρ καὶ
αὐτὴ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, ὡς ὁ νό-
μος τὰς Ἑβραίους εἰς χρί-
σθον.

Ibid. p. 117. καὶ εὐαγγέ-
λιον ποτὲ καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία
τὰς Ἑλλήνας.

* *Id. lib. 6. Strom. p. 279.* πῶς
ἡ φιλοσοφία καὶ μᾶλλον,
Ἑλλήσιν οἷον διαθήκῃ οἰ-
κείαν, αὐτοῖς δεδωται, ὑπο-
βάδριαν ἔσαν τῆς κατὰ χρί-
στον φιλοσοφίας.

Id. p. 268. καὶ ἀπερὶ Ἰουδαί-
ας πῶς ἐλάττω ἐβέλετο ὁ θεός,
τὰς προφῆτας διδόνς, ἕως
καὶ Ἑλλήσιν τὰς δοκιμασί-
ας, οἰκείας αὐτῶν τῇ δι-
αλέκτῳ προφῆτας ἀναστ-
σας.

† *Id. Strom. lib. 6. p. 269.*
ὁ Κύριος εὐηγγελίστατο καὶ
πῶς ἐν αἰσ, &c. fufē.

* καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι κατὰ
περ ἐν ταῦτα, ἕως καὶ καὶ
(in inferis) τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν
ἐπιτιμίας εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν
εὐηγγελίσαντο.

* *Id. p. 271.* Ἰησὺς ὁ
τοίνυν τὰς ἐν σαρκὶ δια-
τῆτο εὐηγγελίστατο, ἵνα μὴ

ted this life before His Coming? From these, and the like Considerations he concludeth, that it was Necessary, that the Souls of all the Dead, as well *Gentiles*, as *Jews*, should have been made partakers of the Preaching of our Saviour,

* *Ibid.* p. 270. τί οὐδὲ ἐν αὐτῇ χεῖρὲν εἰκονομία, ἵνα καὶ κεῖ πάντας αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀκούσασιν αὐτοῦ κηρύσματος, ἢ πῶς μετανοήσονται, ἢ ἐσθλείωνται, ἢ πῶς πόδας διχαίαν εἶναι, διὰ ὧν ἐκ ἐπίστευσιν, ὁμολογήσωσιν.

* and should have had the benefit of the same Dispensation, which he used towards others here upon Earth, in order either to their Salvation, through Repentance; or their just Condemnation, for their Impenitency.

He plainly maintains also, in severall places of his Works, that all the Punishments, which Gods inflicts upon Men, tend to their Salvation, and are sent them for their Instruction, and Amendment; com-

prehending also within this Number, even those very Paines, which the Damned endure in Hell: and from hence it is, that he somewhere also affirmeth, that wicked Men are to be purged by Fire: and hereto doth he referr the Conflagration, spoken of by the *Stoicks*; alledging also to this purpose certain Passages out of *Plato*, and out of a certain Philosopher of *Ephesus*, which I conceive to be *Heracitus*: by all which it cleerly appears, that he had the same Belief, touching the Paines of Hell, that his Scholler *Origen* had, who maintains in an infinite number of places up and down his Works, that the Pains of Hell are *Purgative* only, and Consequently are not *Eternal*, but are to have an end, when the souls of the Damned are once thoroughly Cleansed, and Purified by This

Fire. † He believes also, with *Justin Martyr*, that the Angels fell in Love with the First Women, and that this Love of theirs transported them so far, as to make them Indiscreetly to discover unto Them many Secrets, which they ought to have concealed.

But now, quite contrary to *Irenaeus*, who maintains, that our Saviour Christ lived upon the earth to the age of Fifty years; *Clemens* will have him to have Preached

Id. Strom. lib. 5. p. 227.

† *Id. Strom. lib. 5. p. 227.* οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐκείνοι οἱ τῶν ἄνθρωπων κληῖρον ἐλάλησαν, καταπολεμήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἐξέλιποντ' ἀπόδεικτα τὰς γυναικὶν &c.

Preached in the flesh but one year only, and to have died in the Thirty first year of his Age. But since it is confessed by both Parties, that there are very many Absurd Tenets in this Author, I shall not meddle any further with him. As for *Tertullian*, I confess his very turning *Montanist*, hath taken off indeed very much of the Repate which he before had in the Church, both for the Fervency of his Piety, and also for his Incomparable Learning. But yet, besides that a great part of his Works were written, while he was yet a Catholick; we are also to take notice, that this his *Montanisme*, put no separation at all betwixt Him and Other Christians, save only in point of *Discipline*, which He, according to the Severity of his Nature, would have to be most Harsh, and Rigorous. For as for his *Doctrine*, it is very + Evident, that He constantly kept to the very same Rule, and the same Faith, that the Catholicks did: whence proceeded that Tart speech of his, * *That people rejected Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla, not because they had any whit departed from the Rule of Faith, but rather because they would have us to Fast oftener, then to Marry.* And this is Evident enough, out of all those Books which were written by Him, during the time of his being a *Montanist*; wherein he never disputeth, or contendeth about any thing, save onely about *Discipline*. And this is ingeniously confessed also, by the Learned * *Nicolaus Rigaltius*, in his Preface to those IX Books which he hath lately published. Now notwithstanding the great Repate which this Father had in the Church, and his not departing from it in any thing, in Point of Faith; yet how many Wild Opinions, and Fancies do we meet withall, in His Books? I shall here speak only of some of the principall of them, passing by his so Dangerous Expressions touching the Person of the Son of God, as having touched upon this particular before. But how strange is his manner of Discourse, touching

Id. Strom.
p. 127. ἔτω
πληρῶται τὰ
τελείοντα ἔτη
ἄως ἔσται.

† *Vid. lib. de*
Mon. cap. 2.
&c. & l. contr.
Psych. cap. 1.

* *Id. Contr. Psych. c. 10. Si*
Paracleto controversiam fa-
ciunt propter hoc, prophe-
tix novæ recusantur, non
quod alium Deum prædi-
cant Montanus, & Priscilla,
& Maximilla, &c. sed quod
planè doceant sæpius jeju-
nare, quàm nubere.

† *Nicol. Rigal-*
tius Prolog. in
animad. ad
Tertul. 9.
Tract. an.
Luic. 1628.

* *Tertul. l. 1. adv. Marc. c. 25. et l. 2. c. 16.*

† *Id. adv. Orig. cap. 7. & l. 2. Contr. Marc. c. 16.*

Quis negabit Deum corpus esse, cū Spiritus est?

* *Id. lib. adv. Hermog. c. 35. Cū ipsa substantia corpus sit cujusque.*

† *Id. l. de Idol. cap. 9. Angelos esse illos desertores Dei, Amatores scēinarum, &c.*

* *Id. de Virg. Veland. cap. 7. Debet & adumbrari facies tam periculosa, quæ usque ad cœlum scandala jaculata est.*

† *Id. lib. de Anim. passim: nominatim c. 22. Definimus Animum dici statu naturam immortalem, Corporealem, effigiatam, &c. & unā redundantem, &c.*

touching the Nature of God, * whom he seems to render subject to the like Passions that we are; as namely, to *Anger, Hatred, and Griefe*? He attributes also to him a † *Corporeall Substance*, and does not believe (as he saith himself) *that any man will deny, but that God is a Body*: so that we need the less to wonder, that he so confidently affirms, * *that there is no Substance which is not Corporeall*: or, that with *Iustin Martyr, and Clemens Alexandrinus*, he makes the † *Angelicall Nature Obnoxious to the Carnall Love of Women*: which occasioned those words in that Book of his, *De Virginitibus Velandis*; where he saies, * *that It is necessary that that so dangerous a Face should be veiled, which had scandalized even Heaven it self*. We need not after this, think strange of his Doctrine, touching the † *Nature of Mans Soul*, which He will have to be *Corporeall*, and endued with *Form*, and *Figure*, and to be Propagated, and derived from the Substance of the Father, to the Body of the Son, and sowed, and engendered with the Body, increasing and extending it self together with it; and many other the like Dreams, in the maintaining whereof he useth so much subtilty, strength of Reason, and Eloquence, as that you will hardly meet with, throughout the whole Stock of Antiquity, a more Excellent, and more Elegant Piece, then that Book of His *de Anima*. He also, with *Irenæus*, shuts up the Souls of Men after they are departed this Life, into a certain Subterraneous place, where they are to remain till the Day of Judgment; the Heavens not being to be opened to any of the Faithfull, till the end of the World: only he allows the *Martyrs* their entrance into *Paradise*, which He fancies to be some place beneath the Heavens; and here

he

he will have them continue till the Last Day.

* *It is thy Blood, (saith He) which is the only Key of Paradise.* And this place, whether the Souls of the Dead go, is to continue close shut up till the end of the World, according to Him; who besides is of a quite contrary Opinion from that of *Justin Martyr*, spoken of before; and maintains, that all Apparitions of Dead Men are only Meer Illusions, and Deceits of the Divell, and that this Inclosure of the Souls of Men shall continue, till such time as the City of the

+ *New Ierusalem*, which is to be all of Precious Stones, shall descend Miraculously from Heaven upon the Earth, and shall there continue a Thousand years, the Saints so long living in it in very great Glory: and, that during this space, the Resurrection of the Faithfull is to be accomplished by degrees; some of them rising up sooner, and some later, according to the difference of their Merits. And hence are we to interpret that which he saies in another place, to wit; *That * small sins shall be punished in Men, by the Lateness of their Resurrection:* and, *That + when the Thousand years are expired, and the Destruction of the world, and the Conflagration of the Day of Judgment is past we shall all be changed in a moment into the Nature of Angels.*

I pass by his Invectives against Second Marriages, and also his evill Opinion of all Marriage in Generall; these Fancies being a part of the Discipline of *Montanus* his *Paraclete*.

But as for his Opinions touching the Baptisme of Hereticks, he hath many fellowes among the Fathers, who

* *Id. lib. de An. c. 55, 56, 57, 58. Quò (in inferis) spes omnis sequestratur, tota Paradisi clavis sanguis tuus est, cap. 55. Nulli patet cœlum, tenâ adhuc salvâ, ne dixerim clausâ.*

+ *Id. lib. 3. adv. Marc. c. 24. Nam & confitemur in terra nobis regnum repositum post resurrectionem in mille annos in civitate divini operis, Hierusalem cœlo delata, &c. inter quam ætatem (1000 annorum) concluditur Sanctorum resurrectio, pro meritis maturius, vel tardius resurgentium.*

* *Id. l. de. An. c. 58. Modicum quæque delictum morâ resurrectionis illic luendum.*

+ *Id. lib. 3. adv. Marc. c. 29. Post cujus mille annos, &c. tunc & mundi destructione, & judicii conflagratione commissa, demutari in atomo in Angelicam Substantiâ; Scilicet per illud Incorruptionis superindumentum transferemur in cœleste Regnum, &c.*

* *Tertul. l. de Bapt. adv. Quint. c. 15. & de pudic. l. 19. apud nos ut ethnico par, imò & super ethnicum Hæreticus etiam per baptisma veritatis utroque homine purgatus admittitur.*

who held the same ; Namely that * They Baptisme signified nothing : and therefore they never received any Heretick into the Communion of the Catholick Church, but they first rebaptized him, *Cleansing Him* (saith he) *both in the one, and in the other Man ; that is to say, both in Body, and Soul,*

by the Baptisme of the Truth, accounting an Heretick to be in the same, or rather in a worse Condition then any Pagan. And as for the rest, he is so far from pressing men to the baptizing of their Children while they are young, which yet is the present Custome of these times ; that he allowes, and indeed perswades the Contrary ; not onely in Children, but even in persons of riper years ; counselling them to deferre it, every man according to his

† *Id. l. de baptis. cap. 18.* Itaque pro cujusque personæ conditione, ac dispositione, etiam ætate cunctatio baptismi utilior est, &c.

* *Id. lib. de Idol. c. 17. & 19. &c. et lib. 1. de Cor. Mil. c. 11.* Jam verò, quæ sunt potestatis, neque judicet de capite alicujus, vel pudore, (feras enim de pecunia,) neque damnet, neque prædamnet, neminem vinciat, neminem recludat, aut torqueat, &c. omnem postea militem Dominus in Petro exarmando discinxit.

† Condition, Disposition, and Age. And as His Opinion, touching this Particular, is not much different from that of the *Anabaptists* of our Time ; so doth he not much dissent from them neither in some other. For, he will not allow, no more then they do, that a Christian should take upon him, or execute any Office of Judicature, or * *That he should condemne, or binde, or imprison, or examine any man :* or that he should make war upon any, or serve in war under any other ; saying Expressly, *That our Saviour Christ by disarming S. Peter, hath from henceforth taken off every Souldiers Belt :* which is as much as to say, that the Discipline of Christ alloweth not of the Profession of

Souldiery. So that I cannot but extreamly wonder at the Confidence (shall I say, or rather the Inadvertency) of † some, who will needs perswade us, from a certain Passage of this Author, which themselves have very much mistaken, that this so Innocent, and Peaceable Father maintained, that Hereticks are to be punished, and to be suppressed

† *Pamel. in Scap. Tertul. c. 2. num. 15. et in l. ad Scap. c. 2. num. 7.*

suppressed, by inflicting upon them Temporall Punishments: which Rigorous Proceeding was as far from His thoughts, as Heaven is from Earth.

I shall adde here, before I go any further, that * he held, that our Saviour Christ suffered death in the Thirtieth year of his Age, which is manifestly contrary to the Gospel: And he thought also that the † *Heavenly Grace*, and *Prophecie* ended in *St. Iohn Baptist*, the Fulness of the Spirit being from henceforth transferred unto our Saviour Christ. *St. Cyprian*, who was *Tertullians* very great Admirer, calling him Absolutely, *The Master*, and * who never let any day pass over his head, without reading something of him, hath confidently also maintained some of the aforesaid Opinions; as namely, among others, that of the Nullity of Baptisme by Hereticks, † which he defendeth every where very stiffely; having also the most Eminent Men of his time consenting with him in this Point; as namely, * *Firmilianus*, Metropolitan of *Cappadocia*, † *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, together with the Councils of *Africk*, *Cappadocia*, *Pamphilia*, and *Bithynia*, notwithstanding all the Anger, and the Excommunication also of *Stephen*, Bishop of *Rome*, * who for his part held a Particular Opinion of his own, allowing of the Baptisme of all sorts of Hereticks, without rebaptizing any of them; as it appeareth by the Beginning of the LXXIV Epistle of *St. Cyprian*; whereas the Church, about some LXV years after, at the † Councell of *Nice*, declared Null the Baptisme of the *Samosatenians*, by permitting as it seems, that all other Hereticks

* *Tertul. lib. adv. Jud. cap. 8.* Christus annos habens quasi triginta cum patretur, &c.

† *Id. de Bapt. adver. Quint. cap. 10.*

St. Cyprian, calling him

* *Hieron. l. de Script. Eccles. in Tertul. Vidi ego quondam Paulum, &c. qui se B. Cyprian, &c. Notarium, &c. Romæ vidisse diceret, referrique sibi solitum, nunquam Cyprianum absque Tertulliani lectione unum diem præterisse, ac sibi crebriò dicere, da Magistrum, Tertullianum videlicet significans.*

† *Cypr. Ep. 47. ad Steph. et alibi passim.*

* *Firmil. Ep. 75. inter. Ep. Cypr.*

† *Hieron. lib. de Script Eccles.*

† *Cypr. ep. 74. init. ubi referuntur hæc Stephani verba.*

Si quis ergo a quacunque hæresi venerit ad nos, nihil innovetur, nisi quod traditum est, ut manus illi imponatur ad pœnitentiam, &c.

† *Con. Nic. Can. 19.*

Περὶ τῶν Παυλιανιστῶν, καὶ προσφυγόντων τῇ κα-

δολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ὅρθ' ἐκτίθηται ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἁπλότητος.

K k

what-

whatsoever should be received into the Church, without being rebaptized. But the Fathers of the * II Generall Councell went yet further, rebaptizing all those, no otherwise then they would have done *Pagans*, who came in from the Communion either of the *Eunomians*, *Montanists*, *Phrygians*, or *Sabellians*; or indeed any other Hereticks whatsoever, save only the *Arrians*, *Macedonians*, *Sabbatians*, *Novatians*, *Quartodecimani*, and *Apolinarians*; all which they received without *Rebaptization*, as you may see in the Greek Copies of the said Councell, and the VII Canon; which Canon you also have in the Greek Code of the Church Universall, Num. CLXX. And thus you see, that *Stephen*, and *Cyprian* maintained each of them their own particular Opinion in this point; the one of them admitting, and the other utterly rejecting the Baptisme of all manner of Hereticks: whereas the two aforementioned Generall Councells, neither admitted, nor rejected, save only the Baptisme of some certain Hereticks only. But *St. Cyprian* however seems to have dealt herein much more fairly then his Adversary; seeing

† *Cypr. Pres. Conc. Carth.*
Neminem judicantes, aut à
jure Communionis ali-
quem, si diversum senserit,
amoventes.

* *Hier. Contr. Lucifer. T. 2.*
p. 197. &c.

a *Firmil. ep. ad Cypr. quæ*
est 75. inter ep. Cypr. p.
204.

b *Cypr. ep. 74. p. 194. &*
ep. 75. quæ est Firmil.

c. *Cypr. ep. 59. p. 137. Ut in-*
tra octavum diem eum qui
natus est baptizandum, &
sacrificandum non putares.

that † He patiently endured, and was not offended with any of those, who were of the Contrary Opinion; as it appears cleerly by the Synod of *Carthage*, and as it is also proved by * *St. Hierome*: whereas *Stephen*, according to his own Hot, Cholerick Temper, I declared Publickly against *Firmilianus* his Opinion, and * Excommunicated all those, that dissented from Himself.

The same blessed † Martyr of our Saviour Jesus Christ, was carried away with that Errour also of His time, touching the Necessity of administering the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist to all persons when they were Baptized, and even to Infants too, as appears by his LIX Epistle, where, by the suffrages of LXV other Bishops, he admitteth Infants to Baptisme, and the Lords

Lords Supper, so soon as ever they are born ; against the Opinion of one *Fidus*, who would not admit of them till the Eighth Day after they were born : and also by that Story of his, that he tells us of a certain young Girle, who being not as yet of years to speak, by a remarkable Miracle, put back the Liquor which had been consecrated for the Blood of our Saviour, and was presented unto her by a Deacon to drink in the Church ; as judging herself unworthy to receive it, by reason that not long before, she had been carried to the celebration of some certain Pagan sacrifices. Now the Originall of this Error of theirs was, the Belief they had, that the *Eucharist* was as Necessary to Salvation, as *Baptisme* ; as may easily be collected out of the Words of the said Author, delivered *Lib. 3. Test. ad Quirin.* Where having first laid down

this for a Ground ; to wit, * *That no man can come into the Kingdome of God, unless he be Baptized, and Regenerated* ; he produceth, for a proof hereof, first that Passage out of *St. Iohn*, where it is said, that *Except a Man be born of Water, and of the Spirit, he can not enter into the Kingdome of God, &c.* and then this other : *Except you eate the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood,*

ye have no Life in you : urging the first of these places to prove the Necessity of *Baptisme* ; and the other for that of the *Eucharist*, accounting each of them Necessary to Regeneration. And hence it is ; that we find him speaking so often of being *Born again*, by virtue of the *One, and of the Other Sacrament* : in which words he doth not mean *Baptisme*, and *Confirmation* (as some will needs perswade us) but rather *Baptisme*, and the *Lords Supper* ; as is evident also by the following words, namely,

that † *It is to very little purpose to be Baptized, and to partake of the Holy Eucharist, unless a man proceed in good Works, &c.* I shall here pass by some words, which he hath

* *Id. l. 3. Test. ad Quir. Ad regnum Dei nisi baptizatus, et renatus quis fuerit, pervenire non posse ; in Evang. secundum Joann.*

Nisi quis natus fuerit, &c. item illic : nisi ederitis carnem filii hominis, et biberitis sanguinem ejus, non habebitis vitam in vobis.

† *Id. ibid. c. 26. Parum esse baptizari et eucharistiam accipere, nisi quis factis & opere proficiat, al. perficiat.*

* 1d. ep. 63. Quando nec oblatio sanctificare illic possit, ubi Spiritus Sanctus non sit, nec cuiquam Dominus per eius orationes & preces prosit, qui Dominum ipse violavit.

sometimes let fall, * touching the Point of the Baptisme of Hereticks, by which he seems to make the Efficacy of the Sacrament, to depend upon the Integrity, and Sanctity of the person who administreth it.

We should now come in the next place to speake of *Origen*; but since that there have been some since his time, who have very much cried down both Him, and his Doctrine; and others again on the other side, who have as stiffly defended him, we shall forbear to say any thing of him, that we may not engage our selves in so long, and tedious a Quarrel: we shall onely observe, from this example of his, that neither the Antiquity, nor yet the Learning or Holy Life of any man, Necessarily withholdeth him from falling into very strange, and Grosse Errors. For, *Origen* was one of the most Ancient among the Fathers, having lived about the middle of the Third Century; and having been so eminent for those two other excellencies, of Innocence, and Learning, as that his fiercest Adversaries cannot deny, but that he had them both in a very high degree.

† Epiphan.

64. Hæc. quæ est Orig.

Neither ought the a Story of his Fall, related by *Epiphanius*, to take off any thing from the Reputation of His Vertue: for though perhaps it might have been true, yet hath it frequently hapned to others of the Faithful to fall into Great Temptations also; as appears evidently enough, by the Example of *Saint Peter* himself.

b Baron. Anal. ad An. 253. num. 120, 121, 122.

But, that I may nor dissemble, I professe my self much enclined to be of Cardinal *b Baronius* his Opinion; who thinks this Story to be an arrant Fable, maliciously devised by those who envied the Fame of this Excellent, Admirable Wit; and that it was foisted into *Epiphanius* by some such hand; or else (as I rather believe,) was taken upon trust by himself, and thrust into that Book of his, without any further Examination, as many other things

have

have been; in the relating whereof this Father hath shewed himself a little Over-Credulous; as is also observed by his † Last Interpreter.

And yet *Origen*, notwithstanding all those Excellent † *Petar. Not. ad Her. 55. p. 217.* Gifts of his, hath not spared to broach very many Opinions, which by reason of the Absurdness of them, have been utterly rejected (and certainly very deservedly too) by the Church in all the Ages succeeding: which is an Evident Argument, that how Ancient, Learned, and Holy soever an Authour may have been, we ought not however presently to believe Him, and to urge him as Infallible: since there is no reason in the world to be given, why the same thing which hath befallen *Origen*, in so many Points, may not in some or other have also befallen any other Author, whosoever he be. But this I am very well assured of, that those very men, who have written against *Origen*, have not been so thoroughly happy in their undertaking; but by opposing to the utmost some certain error of his, have sometimes fallen into as great a

one of their own. * One of them for example, *Methodius* by name, as he is cited by *Epiphanius*, maintains, that after the Resurrection, and Finall Judgment, we shall dwell for ever upon the Earth, leading there a Holy, Blessed, and Everlasting Life, exercising our selves in all good things, like as the Angels do in Heaven.

He also as well as the rest, maketh the Angels Obnoxious to the Love of Women: and he will have Gods Providence to extend it self only to *Universal Causes*, affirming, that † He hath committed the Care of Particular things to the Angels: which Opinions of his, if they be thoroughly examined, will be found to be not much less Dangerous, and Contrary to the Scriptures, then some of those very Opinions, which he reproves in *Origen*. I shall also, for the

* *Method. apud Epiphani. in Panar. her. 54. quæ est Orig. παρεχθήσεται μὴ γὰρ τὴν κλίσιν, ἢ μὴ ἀπολείδαι προσδοκητέον, ὅπως ἀνακατανοοινηθέντες ἐν ἀνακατανοοινηθέντι κόσμῳ ἀγένοισι αὐτῆς κατοικήσωμεν.*

Id. ibid. ὥστε καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα σαρκῶν ἐξαδέντες, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς φιλοκοιτίαν ὁμιλήσαντες θυγατέρεσιν.

† *Id. ibid. ἵνα πῶς μὴ παντελὴν καὶ γλυκερικὴν ἔχων ὁ θεὸς τῶν ὅλων παρρησίαν, τὴν δὲ διὰ μέρους οἱ δὲ τῶν ταχθέντες ἀγγελοι.*

same

same reason, pass by *Eusebius*, *Didymus*, *Apollinaris*, and the like ; who though they are very Ancient Authors , yet there is ordinarily little account made of them , by reason of the hard Opinion, that the greatest part of the Church had of them.

As for the two First of these, (although perhaps Their Faith, may not have been much freer from stains then the rest,) they have yet been more Favourably dealt withall by Posterity, then their brethren ; whether it were, because that the time they lived in being so far distant from the Ages of our *Aristarchi*, and Censors of other Men, they have so much the less moved their Envy, and Passion : or else because that they were willing to spare them, by reason of the Great Opinion that the Ordinary sort in the Church had of them. *Lactantius Firmianus*, whose Reputation was scarcely questioned at all among the Ancients, had notwithstanding His Errours too. For it is a long

time since, that * *St. Hierome* observed one very strange one in Him , in an Epistle that he wrote to *Demetrianus* ; where he denies, that *The Holy Ghost is a Distinct Person in the Godhead, subsisting together with the Father and the Son*. His other Errours are not so Dangerous, and are indeed Common to Him , with some other of the Fathers : as, where he saies, † that the Angels defiled themselves with Women ; and that from this their companying with them were born Demons , or Divels. As likewise where he teacheth, * *that the Souls of Men, after this Life, are all shut up together in one Common Prison, where they are to continue till the Day of Judgment* : and, *That our Saviour Christ shall come again upon the Earth, before the Last and Finall Resurrection ; and that † those who shall then be found alive, shall not dye at all,*

* *Hieron. ep. 65. ad Pam. & Octav. Lactantius in libris suis, ut maxime in Epistolis ad Demetrianum, Spiritus Sancti omnino negat substantiam, & errore judaico dicit, cum vel ad Patrem referri, vel ad Filium, & sanctificationem utriusque personae sub ejus nomine demonstrari.*

† *Lact. Firm. lib. 2. divin. Instit. cap. 15.*

* *Id. lib. 7. cap. 21. extr. Omnes (Animæ) in una Communique custodia continentur, donec tempus adveniat, quo maximus iudex meritum faciat examen.*

† *Id. lib. 7. c. 24. Tum qui erunt in corporibus vivi, non morientur, sed per eodem mille annos infinitam multitudinem generabunt, &c. qui autem ab inferis suscitabuntur, ij præbunt viventibus velut Iudices.*

but shall be preserved alive, and shall beget an infinite Number of Children, during the space of a Thousand years; living all of them peaceably together, in a most Happy City, which shall abound with all good things, under the Reign of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of some of the Saints, who shall be raised from the Dead.

But what will you say, if S. Hilary also himself who flourished about the middle of the Fourth Century, hath His Tares also; which are so much the more Observable in him, by how much the greater his estimation was among the Ancients. The Principal, and most Dangerous, of all is, that strange Opinion which he held, touching the Nature of Christ's Body, which He maintained had no sense, or feeling of those Stripes and Torments which he suffered, * But that he Really suffered indeed at that time, when he was beaten, and when he was put upon the Cross, and fastened unto it, and died upon it: but, that This Passion falling wholly upon His Body, notwithstanding that it was a Real Passion; yet did it not shew upon Him the Nature of a Passion; and that while the furious strokes were dealt upon Him, the strength, and vigour of His Body received the force of the strokes upon it, yet without any Sense of the Pain. I shall confesse (saith He) that the Body of our Saviour had a Nature susceptible of Our Griefs, if the Nature of Our Body be such, as that it is able to tread upon the water, and to walk upon the floods without sinking, or without the Waters yielding to our Footsteps, when we stand thereon: if it can penetrate Solid bodies, or can passe with ease through doores that are shut. And within two or three lines after: Such is the Man sent from God, having a Body capable of Suffering, (for He Naturæ enim propriæ, ac suæ corpus illud est, quod in cœlestem gloriam, trans-

* Hilary. de Trinit. l. 10. Passus quidem Dominus Jesus Christus dum cœditur, dum suspenditur, dum crucifigitur, dum moritur; sed in corpus irruens Passio, nec non fuit Passio, nec tamen naturam Passionis exercuit, dum & pœnali ministerio illa deservit, & virtus Corporis sine sensu pœnæ vim pœnæ in se deservientis excepit; habuit scilicet illud Domini corpus doloris nostri naturam, si corpus nostrum id naturæ haberet, ut calcet undas, & super fluctus eat, & non deprimatur ingressu, neque aquæ insistentis vestigiis cedant: ponatur etiam solida, nec clausæ domus obstaculis arceatur.

Et paulo post: Et homo ille de Deo est, habens ad patiendum quidem corpus, ut passus est; sed naturam non habens ad dolendum,

really

Id. Ibid. in quo quamvis aut ictus in iderit, aut vulnus descenderit, aut nodi concurrerint, aut suspensio elevarit, afferunt quidem hæc impetum passionis, non tamen dolorem passionis inferunt: ut telum aliquod, aut aquam perforans, aut ignem compungens, aut æra vulnerans, omnes quidem has passiones naturæ suæ infert, ut perforet, ut compungat, ut vulneret, sed naturam suam in hæc passio illata non retinet, dū in natura non est velaquā forari, vel pungi ignem, vel æra vulnerari, quamvis natura teli sit vulnerare compungere, & forare.

† *Hilar. in Ps. 53.* Suscepra voluntariè est (passio) officio quidem ipsa satisfactura pœnali, non tamen pœnæ sensu lætura patientem, &c.

* *Id. in Ps. 138.* Putatur dolere, quia patitur; caret verò doloribus ipse, quia Deus est.

really suffered;) but not having a Nature capable of Pain. When the Blows (said he, a little before) fell upon Him, or a Stripe pierced His skin, it brought indeed with it the Violence and Impetuosity of Passion, but yet it wrought no Pain in Him: in like manner as when a sword is thrust through, and through the Water, or through and through the Fire; it goes through indeed, and pierceth the Water, or the Fire, but it woundeth it not; these things having not a Nature that may be wounded, or hurt, notwithstanding that the Nature of the sword be to work the said effect. And in Conclusion, that you may not think this to be a sudden Fancy, that he fell upon by chance, before he was aware; you must know that he repeats the same thing in divers severall places: as namely, in his Comment upon the *Psalm 53.* † *The Passion of Christ* (saith He) *was undergone by Him Voluntarily, to make an Acknowledgment, that Paines were due; not that He that suffered, was at all touched by them, ** And again, in another place; *Christ is thought to have felt pain, because he suffered; but He was Really free from all Pain, because he is*

God. Do but think now, whereto all this tendeth, and what will become of Our Salvation, if the Passion of our Saviour Christ, which is the Only Foundation whereon it is built, were but a Meer Imaginary Passion, without any Sense of Pain at all. And, as One Absurdity being granted, there will Necessarily others always follow upon it; so hath this strange Particular Fancy of his made him to corrupt and spoil the Whole Story of our Saviours Passion.

For, he supposeth that, in That dismall Night, wherein Christ was delivered up for Our sins, all his Anguish, his Distress,

Distress, and Drops of Bloody Sweats, proceeded not from the Consideration of the Torments, and the death which He was now going to suffer, (and indeed according to his account, since he will not allow Him to have felt any pain, He was neither bound to be, nor indeed could be in any Agony,) but rather from the fear that He was in, † least his Disciples, being scandalized at these Sad sights, might happily have sinned against the Holy Ghost, by denying his Godhead: and that from hence it was, that *St. Peter*, in his Denial of his Master, used these words: *Non novi hominem*; I know him not as Man. Because that whatsoever is spoken against the Son of Man, may be forgiven. * And so likewise in these words of our Saviour, *O my Father, if it be Possible, let this cup pass from Me*: His opinion is, that our Saviour did not here desire, that he himself might be delivered from His Passion, but rather, that after He had suffered, His Disciples might also suffer in like manner: that this Cup might not rest at Him but that it might pass on to His Disciples also; that is to say, that it might be drunk by Them in the same manner, as He himself was now going to tast of it; to wit, without any Touch of Dispair, or Distrust, and without any sense of Pain, or Fear of Death. What could have been written more Coldly, or more disagreeing with the Truth, and Simplicity of the Gospel? But yet I cannot sufficiently wonder at him, that having thus rarified the *Flesh* of our Saviour Christ into a *Spirit*, he should in another place condense Our *Spirits* into *Bodies*. † *There is nothing, (saith He) which is not Corporeal, in its Substance and Creation, &c.* For, the

† *Id. in Matth. Cap. 31.* Scribit exterrendos, fugandos, negaturos; sed quia spiritus blasphemiae nec hic, nec in æternum remittitur, metuit ne se Deum abnegent, quem cæsum, et consputum, & crucifixum essent contemplaturi; quæ ratio servata est in Petro: qui cum negaturus esset, ita negavit, Non novi hominem: quia dictum aliquod in filium hominis remittitur.

* *Id. ibid.* Transeat Calix à me, id est, quomodo à me bibitur, ita ab iis bibatur, sine spei diffidentia, sine sensu doloris, sine metu mortis, &c.

† *Ser. in Matth. Cap. 5.* Nihil est quod non in substantia sua, et creatione corporeum sit, &c. Nam et animarum species sive obtinentium corpora, sive corporibus exulantium, corpoream tamen naturæ suæ substantiam sortiuntur.

species of our Souls themselves, Whither they be united to the Body, or are separated from them, are still a nature whose Substance is Corporeall. He believeth also, that

* *Id. in Ps. 118. tit. Gimel.*
Est ergo, quantum licet existimare, perfectæ illius emundatio puritatis, etiam post Baptismi aquas reposita, &c.

† *Id. ibid.* In quo (dei Judicii) nobis est ille indefessus ignis obeundus, in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa Expiandæ à peccatis Animæ supplicia. Beatæ Mariæ animam gladius pertransibit, ut revelentur multorum cordium cogitationes. Si in judicii severitatem capax illa Dei Virgo ventura est, desiderare quis audebit a Deo judicari?

* Baptisme doth not cleanse us from all our sins; and therefore He holds, that all men must at the Last Day, pass through the Fire.

† *We are Then* (saith he) *to endure an Indefatigable Fire: Then is the time, that we are to undergo those grievous Torments, for the Expiation of our Sins, and Purging our Souls. A sword shall pierce through the Soul of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to the end, that the thoughts of many Hearts may be revealed.*

Seeing therefore that That Virgin, who was Capable of receiving God, shall taste of so severe a Judgment, where is he that dares desire to be judged of God? I know not, whether He might heretofore have perswaded any store of people, to embrace this Doctrine of His

or not: but sure I am, that were he alive at this day, he would take but a vain piece of Labour in hand, if he should go about to win the *Franciscan Friars* over to this Belief.

St. Ambrose, one of the most Firm Pillars of the Church in His Time, is not yet free from the like Failings, no more then the rest.

* *Ambr. in Ps. 118. Ser. 5.*
Si quidem post consummationem sæculi missis Angelis qui segregent bonos & malos, hoc futurum est Baptisma, quando per caminum ignis iniquitas exuretur, ut in Regno Dei fulgeant Iusti, sicut sol, in Regno Patris sui. Et si aliquis, ut Petrus sit, ut Johannes, baptizatur hoc igne. Veniet ergo Baptista Magnus, (sic enim eum nomino, quo modo Gabriel, &c.

For first of all. He agrees with *St. Hilary* in this last Point, and maintains, that All in Generall shall be proved by Fire, at the Last Day; and, that the *Iust* shall pass through it, but that the *Unbelievers* shall continue in it. * *After the End of the World* (saith He) *the Angels being sent forth, to sever the Good from the Bad, shall that Baptisme be performed; when all Iniquity shall be consumed in a furnace of Fire, that so the Iust may shine like the Sun in the Kingdome*

of

of God their Father. And although a man be such a one as Peter, or as John, yet nevertheless shall he be baptized with this Fire. For the Great Baptizer shall come, (for so I call Him, as the Angell Gabriel did, saying, He shall be Great,) and shall see a Multitude of People, standing before the Gate of Paradise, and shall brandish the Fiery sword, and shall say unto those who are on His Right Hand, who are not guilty of any grievous sins, Enter ye in, &c.

He saies the same in another place also, where he exempteth None from this Fiery Triall, save only our Saviour Christ alone. † It is Necessary, (saith he) that All that desire to return into Paradise, should be proved by This Fire. For it is not without some Mystery that it is written, that God having driven Adam and Eve out of Paradise, He is said to place at the Entrance of Paradise, a Flaming sword which turned every way. All must pass through the Flames, whether it be John the Evangelist, whom our Saviour loved so much, that He said, concerning him, to Peter, &c. Or whether it be Peter himself, who had the Keys of Heaven committed unto him, and who walked upon the Sea; He must be able to say, We have passed through the Fire, &c. But as for St. John, this Brandishing of the flaming Sword will soon be dispatched for Him, because there is no Iniquity found in him, who was so beloved of the Truth. &c. But the other (that is Peter) shall be tried as silver is, and I shall be tried like Lead; I shall burn, till all the Lead is quite melted down, and if there be no silver at all found in me, (Wretched Man that I am!) I shall be cast into the lowest Pit of Hell. As for the Resurrection

† Id. in Ps. eund. ser. 20. Omnes oportet per ignem probari, quicunque ad Paradisum redire desiderant. Non enim otiose scriptum est, quod eiecit Adam & eva, posuit Deus in exitu Paradisi gladium igneum versatilem. Omnes oportet transire per flammam, sive Joannes Evangelista sit, quem ita dilexit Dominus ut de eo diceret ad Petrum, &c. Sive ille sit Petrus qui Claves accepit Regni caelorum, qui supra mare ambulavit, oportet dicat, transivimus per ignem, &c. Sed Joanni cito versabitur igneus gladius, quia non invenitur in eo iniquitas; quem dilexit aequitas, &c. Sed ille (Petrus) examinabitur ut argentum; Ego examinabor ut plumbum, donec plumbum taceat ardebo, si nihil argenti in me inventum fuerit, (heu me) in ultima inferni deuradar.

* *l. l. de Fid. Resurrectionis.*
Licet in momento resuscitentur omnes, omnes tamen meritorum ordine suscitantur.

† *Id. in Ps. i.* Beati qui habent partem in prima resurrectione : isti enim sine iudicio veniunt ad gratiam. Qui autem non veniunt ad primam resurrectionem, sed ad secundam reservantur, isti videntur donec impleant tempora inter primam et secundam resurrectionem : aut si non impleverint, diutius in supplicio permanent.

* *Ambros. l. i. de Abr. Patr. c. 4.* Sed consideremus primum, quia Abraham ante Legem Moysis et ante Evangelium fuit, nondum interdictum adulterium videbatur. Poena criminis et tempore Legis est, nec ante Legem ulla rei damnatio est, sed ex Lege.

of the Dead, his Opinion is, that * All shall not be raised at once, but by degrees, one after another, by a Long, yet Certain Order ; those who were Believers, rising First, according to the degrees of their Merits : whereto we are to refer that, which he hath elsewhere delivered, saying; that, † *Those who are raised up in the First Resurrection, shall come to Grace, without Indgment, but as for the rest who are reserved for the Second Resurrection, they shall burn with fire, till they have fulfilled the full space of time, betwixt the First, and the Second Resurrection : or if they do not finish this time, they shall continue very long in their Torments.* I shall leave to the Reader to take the paines in examining, whether or no that Passage of his can be reconciled to any good sense, where he saies, that before the Publication of the Law of Moses, Adultery was not an Unlawfull thing. * *We are to take notice in the first place, (saith He) that Abraham living before the giving of the Law by Moses, and before the Gospel, in all Probability, Adultery was not as yet forbidden: the Crime is punished after the time of the Law*

made which forbiddeth it ; for things are not condemned before the Law, but by the Law : and whether those discourses of his, which you meet with in his Books, De Instit. Virg. & ad Virg. & de Virg. and in other places, do not much disgrace, and cast Slurs upon the Honour of Marriage.

I shall also leave to the Consideration of the Judicious Reader, whether there be more of Solidity, or of Subtility, in that Exposition which he gives us, of the Promise made by God to Noah, after the Flood ; telling him, that He had set his Bow in the Clouds, to be a token of a Covenant, bewixt Him and the whole Earth : upon which

which words *St. Ambrose* utterly, and fiercely denies, that by this *Bow*, is meant the *Rain-Bow* ; but will have it to be, I know not what strange Allegoricall *Bow*.

† *Far be it from us* (saith he) *that we should call This Gods Bow ; for This Bow, which is called Iris, (the Rainbow) is seen indeed in the Day time, but never appears at all in the Night.* And therefore He understands by this *Bow*, the Invisible Power of God, by which He keepeth all things in one Certain

† *Id. lib. de Noe, et Arca, c. 27.*
Abſit ut hunc arcum Dei dicamus ; hic enim arcus, qui Iris dicitur, per diem videri ſolet, per noctem non apparet, &c. Eſt Ergo virtus inviſibilis Dei, &c.

Measure ; Enlarging, and Abating it, as He ſees cauſe, Neither do I know whether that Opinion of his, which you have in his *First Book De Spiritu Sancto*, is any whit more juſtifiable, where he affirms, that, * *Baptiſme is* * *Id lib. 1. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 3.*
Availiable, and Legitimate, although a man ſhould Baptize in the Name, either of the Son, or of the Holy Ghoſt only, without mentioning the other two Perſons of the Trinity.

Epiphanius, as he was a man of a very Good, Honelt, and plain Nature, and (if I may have leave to ſpeak my own Opinion,) a little too Credulous, and withall very eager, and Fierce in maintaining whatſoever He thought was Right and True ; ſo hath He the more eaſily been induced both to deliver, and to receive things for Solid, which yet were not ſo ; and to ſtand ſtiſly in the defending of them, after he had once embraced the ſame. It would take up both too much Time, and Paper, if I ſhould go about to give you a Liſt of all thoſe things, wherein he hath failed : if you pleaſe, you may have an account of a good number of them in the Notes of the Jeſuite *Petavins*, his Interpreter, who makes bold to correct him many times, and ſometimes alſo very Uncivilly too.

As, firſt of all, he accuſeth him of Obscurity, and of Falſhood alſo, in the Opinion he held touching the Year, and Day of *our Saviour's Nativity* ; ſaying, that ſome of his Expreſſions, touching this Point, are more Obscure
Petav. in Epi. pban. p. 127.
and 132.

and Dark, then the Riddles of *Sphinx*. And truly he hath reason enough to say so, of what He hath delivered touching the Year of Our Saviours Nativity; but, as for the Day of that Year, whether it were the *Sixth of January*, as † *Epiphanius* held, with the Church of *Egypt*; or else whether it were the *Twenty Fift of December*, which is the General Opinion at this Day; I think it very great rashness for any man to affirm either the one or the other; neither of these Opinions having any better Ground, the one then the other.

† *Epiphan.*
Her. 51. quæ
est Alog.

Petav. ibid. ad
Her. 70. num.
10.

He likewise in plain terms gives him the *Lie*, upon that place where He saies; that, In the Beginning of the Church the Apostles had ordained, that the Christians should celebrate the *Passeover*, at the same time, and in the same manner, that those of the *Circumcision* did: and that those who were then made Bishops at *Jerusalem* being of the *Circumcision*, it was necessary that all the World should follow them, and should likewise keep the *Passeover* as They did.

Neither do I see whereupon he could ground that Fancy of his, which he propoſeth to us, as a Certain Truth:

namely, * *That the Devil before the Coming of Christ, was in hopes of Grace, and Pardon; and that, out of this Perswasion of his, He never all that while shewed himself Refractory toward God: but that having understood by the Manifestation of our Saviour, that there was left Him no hopes of Salvation, He from thenceforth had grown exceedingly enraged, doing as much mischief as possibly he could, against Christ and his Church.*

* *Epiphan. in Pan. cap. 1.*
Her. 39. ἦκε γὰρ αἰτῶν
ᾠρεσφῆτῶν καὶ ἀγγελλόντων
τὸ χριστὸν παρῆσαν λύτρω-
σιν ἐσμένῃν τῶν ἀμαρτη-
σάντων, καὶ διὰ χριστὸν με-
τανοώτων, ἐνόμιζε π-
τεύξεσθαι τινὲς θεῶν. Ὅτε
δὲ εἶδεν ὁ τάλας τὸν χριστὸν
μὴ δεξαίμενον αὐτὸν πλὴν
ὡς σωτῆρας ἐμσεφῶ,
κc.

St. Hierome, the Boldest, and most Judicious Censurer of the Ancients, hath also left

to posterity something, whereon They may exercise the same Critical Faculty, that He hath so happily imployed upon others. For how should a man be able to make good that, which he hath affirmed so Positively, touching
Gods

Gods Providence : where He saies, that It takes Care of All Men indeed in General, and also of each Particular Man ; but not of other things, whether they be Inanimate, or Irrational.

† *It is an Absurd thing, (saith He) so to abase the Majestie of God, as to make Him take Particular notice how many Gnats are bred, or die every hour ; and how many Punefes, Fleas, and Flies there are through the whole earth ; and how many Fishes swimme in the Water ; and, which among the smaller Fishes are to be a Prey to the Greater. Let us not be such foolish Flatterers of God, as by making His Power descend even to the Lowest things, to disparage Our selves ; while We say, that His Providence in like manner extendeth both to Rational, and Irrational Creatures* I shall not examine here, whether this Opinion be Justifiable, or not : but this I am sure of, that you will hardly be able to make it good, out

† *Hier. Com. i. in Abac. Ceterum absurdum est ad hoc Dei deducere Majestatem ; ut sciat per singula momenta quot nascantur culices, quotve moriantur, quot cimicum, & pulicum & muscarum sit in terra multitudo, quanti pisces in aqua nagent, & qui de minoribus majorum prædæ cedere debeant. Non sumus tam factui adulatōres Dei, ut dum potentiam ejus ad ima detrahimus, in nos ipsos injuriosi simus, eandem rationabilitatem quam irrationabilitatem providentiam esse dicentes.*

of these Words of our Saviour Christ : *Are not two Sparrows sold for a Farthing ? and yet one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.* But yet supposing that this Opinion might be defended, it is however evident that this Father hath lashed out a little too much, when he derides all those, as Fooles, and Absurd people, who chuse rather to adore the Knowledg of God, as Infinite, then to bound it, and make it Finite : and for my part I should rather fear, that there would be much more Rashnesse in the one, then Foolishnesse in the other.

This same man, Who here limiteth the Knowledg, and Providence of God ; in another place extendeth to an Infinitenesse the Presence of the Souls of Departed Saints ; by no means enduring them to be confined, and shut up in any certain place. And the Reason which he gives of this his Opinion is indeed very Wonderful :

For,

* *Hier. contr. Vigil. Tom. 2. p. 161. Sec-* For, * *They always follow the Lamb (saith He) whether soever He goeth ; for as much therefore as the Lamb is present every where, We ought to believe that They also, who are with the Lamb, are present every where.*

que vadit : si Agnus ubique, &c. et sic quicum Agnoscunt ubique esse credendi sunt. Where are those *Logick* Schools, how Loose and Remiss soever they be, that would not give a Scholler the *Ferula*, if he should but offer to argue thus, confounding the *Divinity*, and the *Humaneity* of our Saviour together ; and from that which is spoken in respect of the one, concluding that which is Proper to the other ? So in another place, for to bring all the severall pieces of an Allegory together, and to make them meet in their proper Point,

† *Id. Ep. 164. ad Pamm. T. 3. p. 210. Nulli periculosum, nulli videatur esse blasphemum, quod & in Apostolos invidiæ venenum diximus potuisse subrepare, cum etiam de Angelis hoc dictum putamus, &c.* † he makes the Souls of the Blessed Saints, and of the Angels themselves, subject to sin.

I shall pass by what he hath spoken so reproachfully, both against Marriage in Generall, and against Second Marriages in Particular ; where he useth such Unfavoury Expressions, as that though we should in the explaining of them, follow those very rules, which He himself hath laid down to us, in an Epistle of his written to *Pammachius*, upon this very subject ; it seems notwithstanding an impossible thing, to acquit Him from holding the same Opinion touching Marriage, that *Tertullian* did, which was condemned by the Church, as being Contrary to the Honour of Marriage, and the Authority of the Scripture. As for Example, what

Hony, or how much Sugar would be sufficient to sweeten that which he saies, * Writing to a certain Widow, named *Furia*, where he tells her, *That she was not so worthy to be commended, if she continued a Widow, as she would be to be Cursed, if she married again: seeing she was not able, being a Christian, to preserve that, which many women of her family had done, being but Pagans.* Which Expressions of his he repeateth again in the following Epistle, where he diswadeth one *Ageruchia* from

* *Id. ep. 10. ad. Fur. T. 1. p. 89. & 101. Ut non tam laudanda, si vidua perseveres, quam execranda, si id Christiana non serves, quod per tanta sæcula Gentiles tæminæ custodierunt. Mox. p. 90. Canis revertens ad vomitum, & sus lota ad volutabrum luti.*

from marrying again; and for this purpose makes use of very unbecoming Comparisons; applying to such women as marry again, that Proverb which *St. Peter* made use of in an other sense; *The Dog is turned to his own Vomit again, and the Sow that was Washed, to her wallowing in the Mire.* Is not this all one, as if he in plain terms ranked *Second Marriages among Unclean, and Polluted things?* Not unlike to this is that which he saith in another place, in these words. † *I do not at all condemne those, who marry the Second, Third, or (if any such thing may be) the Eighth time: nay, more then so, I receive also even a Penitent Whore:* placing those women that marry the Second Time, in the same ranke with those that keep in the stewes. And he is so full of such expressions as these, as that the whole Canary Islands themselves would hardly be sufficient to sweeten them.

Certainly if he had not believed, that there was some Uncleaness in Marriage, he would never have been so unwilling, * as he was, to speak out, and confesse in plain terms, that *Adam* should nevertheless have had carnal knowledg of *Eve* his wife, though they had both of them continued in their State of *Innocence*: which thing is Evident enough to any one that shall but consider the Second Chapter of *Genesis*, from ver. 18. to the end of the Chapter.

Nevertheless this Father durst not Positively affirm any such thing, fearing least he might so impose some Unclean thing upon the State of *Innocence*, in case he should have allowed them the Use of Marriage. Neither is his Opinion more sound, touching the *Eating of Flesh*, which being unknown to the World before the Flood, was afterwards permitted unto Mankind; but (as He believes) in the very same manner, as *Diverce* was heretofore per-

M m

Id. l. Ep. II. ad Ageruch. T. 1. p. 101. Hæc brevi Ser-mone perstrinxi, ut ostendam adolescentulam meam non præstare monogamiam generi suo, sed reddere; nec tam laudandam esse si tribit, quam omnibus execrandam si negare tentaverit.
† *Id. l. 1. adv. Jovin. p. 4.* Non damno digamos, imò nec trigamos, et si dici potest octogamos: Plus aliquid inferam, etiam scor-tantem recipio pœnitentem.

* *Id. lib. 1. adv. Jovin. p. 51.* Quod si objeceris, antequam peccarent, sexum viri & foeminae fuisse divisum, & absque peccato eos potuisse conjungi, quid futurum fuerit incertum est, &c.

mitted

mitted to the *Jews*, only for the Hardness of their Heart. Whence it followeth, (as He also saies in expresse Termes) that it also was abolished by our Saviour Christ, in like manner as *Divorce*, and *Circumcision* were.

† Hieron. lib. 1. adv. Jovin. Quod autem nobis obicit in secunda Dei Benedictione comedendarum carni-um licentiam datam, quæ in prima concessa non fuerat; sciat, quomodo repudium juxta eloquium saluatoris ab initio non dabatur, sed propter duritiam cordis nostri per Moysen humano generi concessum est, sic & esum carni-um usque ad diluvium ignotum fuisse; post diluvium verò quasi in crebro murmuranti populo coturnices, iradentibus nostris nervos, & virulentias carnis ingeras.

† And whereas it is objected against us by Jovinian, (saith He) that God in the Second Benediction permitted the Eating of Flesh, which He did not in the First: he is to take notice, that in like manner as the Liberty to put away a Mans Wife, according to the words of our Saviour, was not granted from the Beginning, but was afterwards permitted to Mankind, for the Hardnesse of their Heart: in like manner was the Eating of Flesh unknown, until the Flood; but after the Flood, the Sinewes and Virulency of Flesh were thrust into our Mouthes, as the Quails were given to the People of Israel murmuring in the Wildernesse. Certainly Divorce is a thing which is Evil in it self, and is Contrary to the Creation of the Man and of the Woman, and to Marriage

also, which was instituted by God in Paradise: as is divinely proved by our Saviour, disputing with the *Jews* touching this Point.

If therefore the Eating of Flesh be like It, this also is Evil, and Unlawful in it self. Marcion, and the Manichees could hardly have said more then this.

* Hier. Com. in Matth. T. 16. p. 15. Hoc quasi parvulis Judæis fuerat lege concessum, ut quo modo victimas immolabant Deo, ne eas Idolis immolarent, sic & jurare permitterentur in Deum; non quòd rectè hoc facerent, sed quòd melius esset hoc Deo id exhibere, quàm Dæmonibus. Evangelica autem veritas non recipit juramentum, &c.

In another place He seems to be of Opinion, * that Our Saviour hath utterly forbidden the Use of an Oath to Christians: which piece of Doctrine is evidently contrary both to the Scriptures, and to Reason.

It will be a hard matter also to clear him from the suspicion of that Errour, some Traces whereof are apparently to be seen in St. Cyprian, touching the Efficacy of the Sacra-

ments

ments ; as we have observed before. For, do but hear what He saies. * *The Priests also, (saith He) who serve at the Eucharist, and distribute the blood of our Saviour to His People, commit a great Impiety against the Law of Christ, in thinking that the Eucharist is made by the Words, and not by the Life of the Person that Consecrates it ; and that the Solemn Prayers onely of the Priests are Necessary, and not their Merit also.*

Touching the State of the Blessed after the Resurrection, he saies neither but very faintly, that they shall live without eating. * *What then will You say, (these be his own words,) shall we then Eat after the Resurrection ? I know not that, I confesse ; for we finde no such thing Written : Yet if I were to speak my Opinion, I do not think We shall Eat.*

And to give our Judgment in Generall of this Author, I do not know whether or no we may allow for Good, and perfectly Conformable to the Discipline of our Saviour Christ, the course which he Ordinarily observes in His Disputations, wresting the words of his Adversaries, quite besides the Authors Intention ; and framing to himself such a sense, as is not at all to be found in them ; and then fiercely incounting this Giant of his Own making, mixing withall strange abusive language, and biting Girds, and the like Tart expressions borrowed from Profane Authors ; in which kind of Learning He was indeed very excellent. *St. Augustine* in the Contestation that He had with him, said, that the † Holy Ceremonies of the *Jews*, though they were abolished by *Iesus Christ*, might yet notwithstanding in the beginning of *Christia-* nity be observed by those, who had been brought up in them from their Infancy, even after they had believed in *Iesus Christ*, provided only, that they did not put their trust in Them : because that That Salvation, which was

† *Id. Com. in Soph. Tom. 5. p. 489. Sacerdotes quicque qui Eucharistæ serviunt, & sanguinem Domini populis ejus dividunt, impiè agunt in legem Christi, putantes Eucharistiam imprecantis facere verba, non vitam ; & necessariam esse tantum solennem Orationem, & non Sacerdotum merita.*

* *Id. ep. 61. ad Pammach. T. 2. p. 252. Ergò, inquires, & nos post resurrectionem comesturi sumus ? Nescio ; non enim Scriptum est : & tamen si quæritur, non puto comesturos.*

† *Aug. Ep. ad Hier. quæ est 87. inter Ep. Hier. Tom. 2. p. 513.*

signified by these Holy Ceremonies, was imparted unto us by *Jesus Christ*: which Doctrine of his is both Godly, and Consonant also to what is urged by *St. Paul*, in the First Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and elsewhere, touching *Christian Liberty*, by which we both may, and ought to use, or abstain from such things, as are in themselves Indifferent, according as shall be requisite for the Edifica-

* *Hier. ep. 89. ad Aug. T. 2. p. 525.* Hoc si placet, in o-
quia placet, ut quicumque
credunt ex Judæis debito-
res sint legis faciendæ; tu,
ut Episcopus in toto orbe
notissimus, debes hanc pro-
mulgare sententiam, & in
assensum tuum omnes co-
episcopos trahere.

tion of our Neighbour. Now * *St. Hierome* here will needs make him believe, that his meaning is, that All those who believed among the *Jews*, were subject to the Law, and that the *Gentiles* were the only People, whom the Faith in Christ had exempted from this Yoak. And then presently doth he hereupon take occasion to pass as tart, and as biting a Jear upon him, as he

could; saying, that since it was so, that All the Believers among the *Jewes* were bound to observe the Law, *St. Augustine* himself, who was the most Eminent Bishop in the whole world, should do well to publish this His Opinion, and to endeavour to bring over all his fellow Bishops to be of His mind. But he had then to deal with an Able Adversary, and one that knew well enough how to make good his words, and to clear them from that Interpretation that the other had put upon them, and to overthrow whatsoever He had impertinently urged against him; as any man may see, in that † Excellent, and Divine Answer of His to *St. Hierome*, touching this Point, and the whole substance of His Letters. The Case was otherwise betwixt Him and *Ruffinus*: for there he grappled with one much below His Match, and dealt his blows upon an arrant Wooden Statue; one that had scarcely any Reason in what he said, and yet much less Dexterity in defending himself.

But the the sport of it is, to see that after he hath handsomely belaboured, and pricked this Pittifull Thing, from head to foot, and sometimes till the blood followed,
He

† *Aug. Ep. ad
Hier. quæ est
97. inter. Ep.
Hier. Tom. 2.
p. 550.*

He at length protesteth, * at the end of his First Book, that *He had spared him for the Love of God, and that He had not afforded words to His Troubled Breast, and had set a watch before his Mouth*; according to the Example of the Psalmist.

And in another place he reads him a long Lecture, † telling him that they were not to use Railing Language in their Disputations, nor to leave the Question in hand; and to labour to bring in what Accusation they could against each other, which are more Proper at a Barre, then in the Church, and fitter to stuffe a Lawyers Bill, then a Church mans Papers.

'Tis true indeed, that those who have been galled by Him, are themselves to blame: for as much as * He, out of His own Candid Disposition, courteously gave them warning Himself; telling them before hand, that *Those that meddled with Him, had to do with a Horned Beast*. And yet some perhaps may still very much wonder, how it should come to passe, that all those *Watchings*, and Strict Discipline which he endured, in *Bethlehem* and the Desert of *Arabia* should not have mortified these *Horns*: to which I have no more to say, but this; that God by a certain secret, and wise Judgment, hath suffered these Holy men, notwithstanding all those Excellent Gifts of Charity, Patience, and Meeknesse wherewith they were abundantly endued, sometimes to let fall such Slips as these upon several particular Occasions; to let us understand, that there is nothing Absolutely Perfect, but God alone; all men, how accomplished soever they can possibly be, carrying alwaies about them some Reliques of Humane Infirmary.

But however it be, this Course of *St. Hierom's* makes me doubt, that He hath dealt no better with others, then he hath with *St. Augustine*, wresting their words much further then he ought to have done. But sometimes he goes further yet, and speaks even of the Penmen of the

* *Hier. lib. i. contr. Russ. T. 2. p. 311.* Sentisne quid raceam, quod astuanti pectori verba non commodum? et cum Psalmista loquar, pone Domine custodiam ori meo &c.

† *Id. in Apol. adv. Russ. Tom. 2. p. 373.* Quis omnia causa in superflua criminum objectionem versatus est? quæ non Charitæ Ecclesiasticæ, sed libelli debent Judicium continere.

* *Id. Apol. 1. contr. Russ. T. 2. p. 311.* Hoc unum denuncio, et repetens iterum iterumque monebo, cornutam bestiam petis.

Old and New Testament in so disrespectful a manner, as that I am very much unsatisfied with these His doings. As, for example, where he saies in plain Terms without any

† *Hier. Com. in ep. ad Tit. T. 6.* Inscriptio autem aīæ non ita erat, ut Paulus afferuit, Ignoto Deo, sed ita; Deis Europæ, Asiæ, & Africæ, Deis ignotis & peregrinis.

* *Hier. Com. 3. in Ep. ad Gal. 348. T. 6.* Hebræus ex Hebræis profundos sensus aliena lingua exprimere non valebat.

† *Comm. 2. in Ep. ad Ephes. T. 6. p. 384.* Ille qui Solœcismos in verbis facit, qui non potest hyperbaton reddere, Sententiamque concludere, audacter sibi vendicat sapientiam, &c.

Com. in Ep. ad Tit. T. 6. p. 440. Qui non juxta humilitatem, ut plerique æstimant, sed verè dixerit, Imperitus Sermone, non tamen scientia, Hebræus ex Hebræis, &c. profundos sensus Græco sermone non explicat, & quid cogitat, in verba vix promit.

Ep. 15. ad Algas. Q. 10. T. 3. p. 167. Illud &c. etsi imperitus Sermone, &c. nequam Paulum de humilitate dixisse: profundos enim, & reconditos sensus lingua non explicat, & cum ipse sentiat, quid loquatur, in alienas aures puro non potest transferre Sermone.

* *Id. Com. 1. Ep. ad Gal. T. 6. p. 305.* Unde manifestum est id fecisse Apostolum quod promisit, nec reconditis ad Gal. usum esse sensibus, sed quotidianis, & vilibus, & quæ possent, nisi præmisset, Secundum hominem dico, prudentibus displicere.

Et paulo antè. p. 304. Apostolus Galatis quoque, quos paulò ante stultos dixerat, factus est stultus: non enim ad eos his usus est argumentis, quibus ad Romanos, sed Simplicioribus, & quæ stulti possent intelligere, & penè de trivio.

Circumlocation, that the + Inscription of the Altar at Athens was not expressed in those very words which are delivered by St. Paul, in the Acts, Chap. 17.

TO THE UNKNOWN GOD,

but in other terms, thus: To the Gods of Europe, Asia, and of Africa;

to the Unknown, and Forraign Gods. So likewise where He tells us, and repeats the same too

in many several places, that * St. Paul knew not how to speak, nor

to make a Discourse hang together: and, that He makes Solœcismes sometimes; and that He knew

not how to render an Hyperbaton, nor to conclude a Sentence: and, that

He was not able to express his own deep Conceptions in the Greek

tongue: and that He had no good utterance, but had much adoe to deliver his minde. And again in another place he tells us, that It was

not out of Modesty, but it was the plain, naked Truth that he told us,

when the Apostle said of Himself; that He was Imperitus Sermone,

Rude in Speech; because that the truth is, He could not deliver his

mind to others, in clear and Intelligible Language. And he saies

moreover, which is yet much worse then all the rest, that * the

Apostle disputing with the Galatians

ans, counterfeited Ignorance, as knowing them to be a Dull, Heavy People; and that He had let fall some such Expressions, as might possibly have offended the more Intelligent sort of people, had he not before hand told them, that He spake after the manner of Men. Whosoever shall have had but the least Taste of the Force and Vigour, and of the Candor of the Spirit, and Discourse of this Holy Apostle, can never see Him thus used, without being extremely astonished at it: especially if he but consider, that these kinde of speeches, although they had perhaps some Ground, (which yet they have not,) must needs scandalize, and give offence to the weaker sort of People; and therefore ought not to have been uttered, without very much Qualification, and sweetning of the business.

St. Augustine I confess, is much more Discreet, in this particular, every where testifying (as there is very great Reason he should) the great Respect he bare to the Authors of the Books of the Holy Scriptures; and never speaking of any of them, whether it be of their Stile, or of their Sense, but with a singular Admiration.

But as for his Own private Opinions, and those of other men which he embraceth, he is not without His Errours also. Such is that Harsh Sentence of his, which He hath pronounced upon all Infants that dye before Baptisme; whom he will have not only to be deprived of the *Vision of God*, which is the punishment that the Ordinary Opinion of the Church condemns them to; but He will further have them to be † Tormented in Hell Fire: wherein He is also followed by *Gregorius Ariminensis*, * a Famous Doctor in the *Schools*, where he is called, by reason of this Rigour of his, *Tormentum Infantium*. He maintaineth also, that the Eucharist is Necessary for little Infants, as we have formerly noted, to another purpose. To which we must also add that other Opinion, to which He evidently inclines; namely, * that the *Soul* is derived from the Father to the Son, and is engendered of his

Substance

† *Aug. T. 10. Ser. 14. de verb. Ap.*
 * *Greg. Arim. in 2. sent. d. 33. 9. 3.*
 * *Aug. T. 2. Ep. 28. tot. Mox F. 21. M. T. 3. de Gen. ad lit. lib. 10. c. 11. T. 7. c. 2. de An. et ejus Orig. c. 14.*

Substance, as well as the *Body*, and is not immediately Created by God, which is the Common Opinion at this day.

† *Id. T. I. l. I. contr. Acad. c. 7.*
See also toward the latter
end of this Chapter.

* *Id. T. 3. l. imperf. de Gen. ad
lit. c. 7. et lib. 4. de Gen. ad
lit. c. 31. 33, 34. et l. c. 5. II.*

† *Id. T. 5. Euch. ad Laur. cap.
109.* Tempus quod inter
Hominis mortem et ulti-
mam resurrectionem inter-
positum est animas abditis
receptaculis continet, &c.
*Vide et T. 4. c. de cur. pro mor-
tuis, c. 2. et l. I. de Civit. Dei,
c. 12. T. 9. Tract. 49. in Joh.
fol. 74.*

There is no man but knows, that † He every where attributes to the Angels a *Cor-
poreall Nature*: and also that He conceives, against all Sense and Reason, * that the whole World was created all in an instant of Time; and refers the Six Days space of time, where- in the Creation is said to have been perfect- ed, to the Different Degrees of the Know- ledg of the Angels. He believed also, with the most of the Ancient Fathers, † that the Souls of Men Departed, are shut up into I know not what Secret, Dark Receptacles, where they are to remain from the hour of their Departure, till the Resurrection.

But we need not trouble our selves any further, in proving that He also might Erre, in Matters of Religion, seeing that Himself hath made so Clear, and so Authentick a Confession hereof, in His Books of His *Retractions*, where he correcteth many things which he had formerly written, either Besides, or Against the Truth.

I must here confess also, that in my Opinion, it would have added very much to the Great and High Esteem, which we Generally have of his Parts and Worth; if He had been more Positive, and more Resolved, in the Decisi- on of things; which He hath handled, for the most part, after the manner of the *Academicks*, Doubtingly, and Waveringly all the way; insomuch that he leaveth undeci-

* *Id. T. 3. Eu- ded not only* * whether the *Sun*, and the other *Starrs* be
char. ad Laur. indued with *Reason*, but also, † whether the World it self
c. 58. de Gen. ad be a *Living Creature*, or not.
lit. l. 2. c. 18.

† *Id. l. I. Re-
tract. c. II.*

He that will but Exactly, and carefully read the rest of the Fathers, may very easily observe in their Writings divers Errours of the like Nature; and a man shall scarcely

meet

meet with any one Father of any Note, or Repute, from whom some such thing or other hath not escaped.

As for my own part, who have taken upon me this troublesome business very unwillingly, I shall content my self with these few Instances already set down, seeing they do, in my Judgment, make this business very Clear; the discovery whereof, I have been necessitated to undertake, though I wish rather they might have been concealed. For seeing that these so eminent persons, who were of the greatest Repute amongst all the Ancients, have through Humane Infirmary fallen into such Errours. in Point of Faith; what ought we to expect from others, who come very much behinde these, both in respect of their Antiquity, Learning, and Holiness of life? since *Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Hilary, Ambrose, Hierome, Augustine, and Epiphanius*, that is to say, the most eminent, and most Approved persons that ever were, have yet stumbled in many places, and have quite fallen in some other; what hath *Cyrrill, Leo, Gregorius Romanus, and Damascene* done, who have come after them, and in whom hath appeared both much less Gallantry of Spirit, and Sanctity, then in the Former? Besides, if these Men have been mistaken in Matters of so great Importance; some of them for Instance, in the Point touching the *Nature of God*; some, touching the *Humanity of our Saviour Christ*; Others, touching the *Quality of our Soul*; and some, touching the *State and Condition* thereof after Death, and touching the *Resurrection*; why for Gods sake, must they needs be Infallible, when they speak of the Points now debated amongst us? Why, may not the same thing have hapned to them in the one, that hath so manifestly befallen them in the other? It is not very Probable, (as we have said before) that They so much as ever thought of Our Differences: and it is much more Improbable, that ever they had any Intention of being our Judges in the Decision of them, as we have before proved.

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But now put the Case, that they were acquainted with the Business, and that they did intend to clear our Doubts, and to give us their Positive Determination, touching the same in their Books ; who shall assure us, that they have had better success here, then they had in so many other things, wherein we have before heard them give their Verdict, so utterly against all Justice and Reason ? He that hath erred touching the Point of the *Resurrection* ; is it not Possible, that he should be in an Error, touching the *State of the Soul* after this Life ? He that could be ignorant, what the *Nature of Christs Body* was ; must He Necessarily have a Right Judgment, touching the *Eucharist* ? I do not see, what solid Reason of this Difference can Possibly be given. It cannot proceed, but from one of these two Causes, neither of which have yet any place Here. For it happens sometimes, that He who is deceived in one Particular, hath yet better fortune in another ; by reason perhaps of his taking more heed to, and using more Attention in the Consideration of the Later, then he did in the Former ; or else, by reason that one of the Points is easier to be understood, then the other. For, in this Case, though his Attention be as great in the one, as in the other, yet notwithstanding he may perhaps be able to understand the easie One, but shall not be able to master the Hard one. But now, neither of these Reasons can be alledged here : For, why should the Ancients have used Lesse Care, and Attention, in the Examination of those Points, wherein they have erred ? Or, why should they have used more in those Points, which are at this day controverted amongst Us ? Are not those Ancient Points of Religion of as great Importance, as these Latter ? Is there less danger in being ignorant, touching the *Nature of God*, then touching the *Authority of the Pope* ? or touching the State of the Faithfull in the *Resurrection*, then touching the punishment of Souls in *Purgatory* ; the Reall *Qualities* of the *Body of Christ*, then the *Nature* of the *Eucharist* ; the *Cup* of His *Passion*, then

then the *Cup* of His *Communion* ? Is it more Necessary to Salvation, to know Him *Sacrificed* upon the *Altar*, then Really *Suffering* upon the *Cross* ? Who sees not, that these Matters are of Equall Importance ? or, if there be any Difference betwixt them, that those Points, wherein the Fathers have erred, are in some sort more Important then Those which we now dispute about ?

We shall therefore conclude, that if They had had both the one and the other before their eyes, they would questionlesse have used as much dilligence at least, and Attention, in the study of the one, as of the other ; and Consequently in all Probability would have been either as successful, or else have erred as much in the one, as in the other.

Neither may it be here objected, that those Points, wherein they have failed, are of more difficulty, then those other wherein These men will needs have Them to have been Certainly in the right : for whosoever shall but consider them more Narrowly, he will finde that they are Equally both Easie, and Difficult : or, if there be any Difference betwixt them, in this Particular ; Those, which They have erred in, were the easier of the two to have been known.

For, I would fain have any man tell me what he thinks in his Conscience, whether it be not as Easie to judg, by Reason, and by the Scripture, whether or no the Saints shall dwell upon the Earth, after the *Resurrection* ; as it is to determine, whether, after they are departed this Life, they shall go into *Purgatory*, or not ? Is it a Harder matter to know, whether the *Angels* are Capable of *Carnal Love* ; then it is to judge, whether the *Pope*, as he is *Pope*, be *Infallible*, or not ? And if it be answered here, that the Church, having already determined these Latter Points, and having not declared it self at all touching the other, hath taken away all the Difficulty of the one, but hath left the other in their former Doubtful state : this is to Presuppose that, which is the main *Questi-*

on; or rather, it is manifestly False: the Church in the First Ages having not, that we know of, passed any Publicke and Authentick Judgement, touching the Points now in controversie; as we have before already proved.

For as much therefore as these Holy Men (if at least They had any thought at all of these our Quarrels,) had an Equally Clear Insight in these things; both according to all Reason, and all Probability, they would have also come unto them with an equal both Attention, and Affection. And I believe that there is no man but sees, that if they might erre in the Decision of the one, it is altogether as Possible that they might be mistaken also in their Judgment upon the other.

Now those Books of theirs, which are left us, proclaim aloud and openly enough, (as we have seen by those few Testimonies, which we have but just now produced out of them,) that they have erred, and sometimes also very grievously, touching those First Questions: it remaineth therefore that we say, that their Judgment is not any whit more Infallible, in our Present Controversies. I could be content that you had demonstrated to any Protestant, by Clear, and undeniable Reasons, that *St. Hilary*, in those Passages which are produced out of Him for the same purpose, hath Positively taught the *Real Presence* of Christ in the *Eucharist*: and I could be well contented, that He should grant you the same; which yet perhaps He will never do. However after all, He hath this still to put you in minde of, namely that this is the self same *St. Hilary*, who in the same Book maintains, that the Body of Christ felt no Pain at all upon the Crosse. And if he were in an Error in this Particular, why must he Necessarily be in the Right in the other? The Question touching the *Body of Christ* is of as great Importance, as that of the *Eucharist*: and it is besides much more Clearly decided in the Scriptures; where there is nothing in the earth that obligeth us in the least degree to
fancy

fancy any such thing, of the Body of Christ, as *St. Hilary* hath done : but where, on the Contrary, there seems to be some kind of Ground for the Opinion which He is pretended to have had, touching the *Eucharist*. For as much therefore (will the *Protestant* say) as that in a thing which is of Equal Importance, and of much lesse Difficulty, He hath manifestly erred, who can assure me, that in this Point here, which is both less Necessary, and more Difficult, he may not also be mistaken? The same hath He to reply upon you, touching those other Allegations, which you produce out of the rest of the Fathers; every one of whom hath either Really Erred or else Possibly might have erred in matters of Religion. Neither can you hope, that any Solid Answer should be given to these things; especially if you but consider, that the Practice both of the Fathers, and also of Our Adversaries themselves, hath clearly confirmed this our Position. For, *† St. Augustine*, in that Dispute of his which he maintained against *St. Hierome*; seeing him produce the Testimonies of Seven Authours; He, taking no notice at all of the words of the First Four of them, answers no more but this, that some of them were guilty of Heresie, and the rest of Errour : which answer is very Insufficient, unlesse you allow, that the Testimony of a man, who hath erred in any one Particular Point of Faith, is Null, and Invalid.

† Aug. Ep. ad Hier. inter ep. Hier. 47. T. 2. p. 551. & inter Epist. Aug. 19. T. 2.

The Fathers of the II Council of *Nice* tooke the very same Course in answering an Objection brought against them by the *Iconoclasts*, who alleadged a certain Passage for themselves out of *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Cæsaria*, answering them no more but this, that the Authour they cited was an *Arrian*. We need not examine, whether this Answer of theirs be True or no: and if so, whether it be to the purpose, or not : it is sufficient for us, that it appears hence, by their making use of this kind of Answer, that they took it for granted, that He that had failed in one Point, was not to be trusted in any other. *Cardinall Perron*, and the

Conc. VII. Aët. 6. Tom. 3. Conc. Gen. p. 627.

rest

In Prefat. præ
fixa Act. Conc.
Nicensi Gelas.
Cyzic. in Edit.
Rom. Conc.
Gen. Tom. I.

rest of the Learned of that Party, oftentimes makes use of the same Shift; rejecting the Testimonies that are brought against them out of *Socrates*, or *Sozomene*, two Ecclesiasticall Historians, because they say they were *Novatians*. Those who put forth the Generall Councils at *Rome* disauthorize *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, who was the Compiler of the *Acts* of the Council of *Nice*, by producing many gross Over-sights committed by Him, in that Piece of his.

For as much therefore, as we are not to build upon the Authority of any Author, that may justly be accused of Error; it is most Evident that the Authority of the greatest part, and indeed in a manner of all the Fathers, may very well be called in Question: seeing that you will hardly find any one of them, that is not liable to this Exception.

But it will here be objected perhaps, by some especially, that although it be confessed, that the Opinion of one Single Father possibly may be, and many times is really False; yet however it is a very Hard, or indeed an Impossible thing, that what hath been delivered Unanimously by many of them together, should be otherwise then True.

But we have answered something already to this Objection, where we took occasion to examine that *Maxime* of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, touching this Particular.

And in short, this is all one, as if having confessed, that every particular person of such a Company is sick of some Disease, we should notwithstanding still deny, that the Whole Company, taken altogether, can possibly fall into any Common Distemper of body. It is not indeed altogether so probable, that Many should be sick of any Disease, as that One single Person should: yet neither is the thing altogether Impossible, especially when the Disease is Contagious, and besides, not so well Known; as for the most part the Errors of Great Persons are, whose very Name bears them out, and makes them easily received

received by the Ordinary sort, who run after them, and suck them in without the least suspicion at all.

But yet if Reason will not do the turn, let Experience however persuade us to receive this Truth. For it is most evident, that some of those Errors before specified, have been maintained, not by One, nor by Two, nor by Three of the Fathers only, but by Many; by the *Major part*, and sometimes also by All the Fathers of the same Age; at least of all those, whose Names, and Writings have come to our hands. We have heard how that *Justin Martyr* maintained the Opinion of the *Millenaries*, which is both Manifestly False in it self, and also very Dangerous in its Consequences. Now this Opinion He did not maintain alone; the rest of the Learned of His time, were in a manner All of the same persuasion, as it appeareth by his own words.

For, writing against *Tryphon*, and the *Jews* that held with him, he saith, * *That if they had by*

Chance met with some, who bare the name of Christians, but did not believe this Article of Faith, blaspheming the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, and saying that there shall be no Resurrection of the Dead; but that the Souls, Immediately after Death, are transported up to Heaven; They must not take these persons for Christians; no more then, in speaking Truly, and Precisely, the Samaritans, or any other Sect of Judaisme, ought to be called Jews. The False Christians which He here speaks of, were the Valentinians, and others of the Gnosticks. He goes on by and by, and saies: But as for Me, and the rest of us, who are Right, and Orthodox in Our Opinions, and who are Perfectly Christians, We know, that there shall be both a Resurrection of the Flesh, and that the Saints shall afterwards also spend a Thousand years in Jerusalem,

† *Just. contr. Tryph. p. 306.*

ἐι γὰρ καὶ συνεβέβηθε ὑμεῖς
τισὶ λεγμένοις χριστιανοῖς,
καὶ τὸτο μὴ ὁμολογεῖν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ βλασφημεῖν πολ-
υῶσι τὸν θεὸν Ἀβραάμ, καὶ
τὸν θεὸν Ἰσαάκ, καὶ τὸν θεὸν
Ἰακώβ, οἱ καὶ λέγουσι μὴ
εἶναι νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν,
ἀλλὰ ἅμα τῷ ἀποθνή-
σκεν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν
ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν
οὐρανὸν μὴ ὑπολάβετε
αὐτοὺς χριστιανούς, &c.

* *Id. ibid. p. 307.* Εγὼ δὲ,
καὶ εἰ πνέες εἰσιν ὀρθογνώ-
μονες κατὰ πάντα χριστι-
ανοί, χυσαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν γενή-
σεσθαι ὁπιστάμεθα, καὶ χίλια
ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκοδο-
μηθείσῃ, καὶ πωλυωδείσῃ.

&c.

which

which shall be rebuilt, beautified, and enlarged. By which words of his he seems to testifie, that all the Catholicks in His time maintained this Erroneous Opinion, and that the Hereticks onely rejected it. I know very well, that he confesseth before, † That there were divers, who were Perfect and Religious Christians, who yet did not embrace the said Opinion: but let any man that can, reconcile these two Contrary sayings; That all Orthodox Christians held this Opinion, and, That there were some of the Orthodox Party, that did not receive the same.

† Id. ibid. p. 306. πολλὰς δ' αὐ καὶ τῶν τῆς καθαρῆς καὶ εὐτελεῖς ὁντων χριστιανῶν γνώμης, τὸ μὴ γνωρίζειν ἐσθμαναῖσι.

Let any man that will, search also into Justines works, and see whether this Contradiction hath not been foisted in, by the zeal of the following Ages, who happily might take offence at the business, in seeing such an Opinion fathered upon all the True Christians, by so great a Martyr. It is sufficient for us, that however it appears cleerly by this Passage, that a very great part of the Doctors, and of the Faithfull people of those times maintained this Error. We see that Irenæus, who lived in the same time, and also Tertullian, who followed not long after him, were both of the same perswasion; no one man all this while, that we hear of, offering to contradict them. † Eusebius, and * St. Hierome, and divers other Authors inform us, that Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, who flourished about the year of our Lord CX. was the Author of this Opinion.

† Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 39. Hieron. l. de Scrip. Eccles. in Papiā.

It followeth then from hence, that the Consent of all the Fathers, that are now Extant, who lived in the same Age, and maintained all the same Opinion, is no Infallible Argument of the Truth.

And if you go down Lower, you will find that the very same Errour was defended by severall Doctors, of very great Repute in the Church.

* Id. Comm. II. in Ezech. T. 4. p. 984.

St. Hierome, who in divers places of his Commentaries hath excellently, and solidly refuted this Foolish Fancy, saies, * that many among the Learned Christians had maintained the same, and to those, whom we have already

already mentioned † He addeth *Lactantius, Victorinus, Severus, and Apollinaris, who is followed in this Point, (saith He in another place) by great Multitudes of Christians about us, in so much that I already foresee, and presage to my self, how many folks Anger I shall incur hereby: namely, because he every where spoke against this Opinion.*

Whence it plainly appears, that in His time, that is to say, about the Beginning of the Fifth Century, it was still in great request in the Church. And indeed how fierce soever He seem to be in his Onset, yet he dares not condemn this Opinion Absolutely. * *Al-* * *Hier. Com. 4. in Hierem. T. 4. p. 598. Quæ licet non though we embrace not this Opinion, (saith He) yet can we not condemn it; for as much as there have been divers Eminent Personages, and Martyrs in the Church, who have maintained the same. Let every man abound in his own Sense, and let us leave the judgment of all things to God.*

Whence you see, (as we may observe by the way) that the Fathers have not always held an Opinion in the same Degree that we do. For, *St. Hierome* conceived This to be a *Pardonable Error*, which yet we at this day will not endure to hear of.

If it be here answered, that the Church in the Ages following condemned this Opinion, as Erroneous; this is no more, then to say, that the Churches in the Ages following acknowledged, that the Joint consent of Many Fathers together, touching one and the same Opinion, is no Solid Proof of the Truth of the same. If *Dionysius Alexandrianus* had been of any other judgment, he would never have written against *Irenæus* as he did; as

† *St. Hierome* also testifieth, in one of his Books of Commentaries before cited. And if we are to have regard to Authority only; the Judgment of the succeeding Church cannot then serve us, as a Certain Guide in this

Question, to inform us on which side the Truth is : For, to alledg it in this Case, were rather to oppose one Authority against another, then to decide the Controversie. As *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, *St. Hierome*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, and others, conceived not themselves bound to submit to the Authority of *Justin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus*, *Severus*, and others ; so neither are We any more bound to submit to Theirs : For, Their Posterity oweth Them no more Respect, then They themselves owed to Their Ancestours. It seemeth rather, that in Reason they should owe Them lesse, because that look how far distant in time they are from the Apostles, who are as it were the spring, and Originall of all Ecclesiasticall Authority ; so much doth the Credit, and Authority of the Doctors of the Church loose, and grow less.

If *Antiquity* (as we would have it) be the *Mark of Truth*, then certainly that which is the most Ancient, is also the most Venerable, and the most Considerable. And if there were no other Argument but This, against the Authority of Many Fathers, Unanimously Consenting in any Opinion ; yet would it clearly serve to lessen the same : but there are yet behind many others ; some whereof we shall here produce. We have heard before, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, and *St. Augustine*, affirming all of them, that Heaven shall not be opened, till the Day of Judgment ; and that during this space of time the Souls of all the Faithful are shut up in some Subterraneous place, except some small number of those who had the Priviledg of going Immediately to Heaven. The Authour of those *Questions and Answers*, that go under the name of *Justin Martyr*, maintains the same Opinion, as you may see in the *Answers* to the LX, and LXXIV *Questions*.

And that I may not unprofitably spend both Time and Paper, in bringing in all the Particular Passages, I say in General, that both the *Major Part*, and also the most Eminent Persons among the Ancient Fathers held this Opinion,

Opinion, either Absolutely, or at least in Part. For, besides *Justin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, and *St. Augustine*, and the Authour of those *Questions and Answers* we before mentioned, which is a very Ancient Piece indeed, though falsely fathered upon *Justine Martyr*, it is clear, that *Origen*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Chrysostome*, *Theodoret*, *Oecumenius*, *Aretas*, *Prudentius*, *Theophilact*, *St. Bernard*, and, among the Popes, *Clemens Romanus*, and *John XXII*, were all of this Opinion, as is confessed by all; neither was this so Admirable and General Consent of theirs contradicted by any Declaration of the Church, for the space of Fourteen Hundred years; neither yet did any one of the Fathers, so far as we can discover, take upon him to refute this Errour, as *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, and *St. Hierome* did to refute the *Millenaries*; all the rest of the Fathers being either utterly silent, as to this Particular, and so by this their Silence going over in a manner into the Opinion of the *Major* Part; or else contenting themselves with declaring sometimes here and there in their books, that they believed that the Souls of the Saints should enjoy the Sight of God, till the Resurrection; never Formally denying the other Opinion.

But that which doth further shew, that this Opinion is both very Ancient, and hath been also very Common among the Christians, is, because that even at this day it is believed, and defended by the whole *Greek Church*: neither is there any of all those, who make Profession of standing to the Writings of the Fathers, as the Rule of their Faith, who have rejected it, save only the *Latines*, who have expressly also established the Contrary, at the Council of *Florence*, held in the year of our Lord 1439. which is not above Two Hundred and Twelve years ago. Do but fancy now to

corporibus, vel eisdem exutæ corporibus, pro ut superius dictum est, sunt purgatæ, in cælum mox recipi, & intueri clarè ipsum Deum, trinum & unum, T. 4. *Conc.* p. 584.

Conc. Flo. in defn. Diffini-
mus insuper, &c. illorum
animas qui post susceptum
Baptisma nullam omnino
maculam incurrerunt illas
etiam quæ post contractam
peccati maculam vel in suis

your selves a *Vincentius Lirinensis*, standing in the midst of This Council, and laying before them His Own Oracle, before mentioned; which is, *That we ought to hold for most Certainly, and Undoubtedly True, whatsoever hath been delivered by the Ancients Unanimously and by a Common Consent*: and do but think, whether or no He should not have been hissed out by these Reverend Fathers, as one that made the Truth, which is Holy, and Immutable, to depend upon the Authority of Men? For, these men regarded not at all neither the Multitude, nor the Antiquity, nor the Learning, nor the Sanctity of the Authours of this Foolish Opinion; but, finding it to be False, without any more ado rejected it, as they thought they had good Reason to do, and withal Ordained the Contrary.

Now I am verily perswaded, that there are very few Points of Faith, among all those which the Church of Rome would have the *Protestants* receive, for which there can be alledged either More, or more Clear and Evident Testimonies out of the Fathers, then for This.

For as much therefore as that after all this it hath not only been called in Question, but hath been even utterly condemned also; who seeth not, that the Consent of Many Fathers together, although any such thing were to be had, upon all the Points now in Debate, would yet be no sufficient Argument of the Truth of the Same? But I shall pass on to the rest.

We have before heard, how that *Tertulian*, *St. Cyprian*, who was both a Bishop, and a Martyr; *Firmilianus* Metropolitan of *Cappadocia*, *Dionysius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, together with the Synods of Bishops both of *Africk*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and *Bithynia*, held All, that the Baptisme of Hereticks was Invalid, and Null. *St. Basil*, who was one of the most Eminent Bishops of the whole Eastern Church, held also in a manner the very same Opinion; and that a long time too after the Determination of the Council of *Nice*; as appeareth by the Epistle which He wrote

*Basil. ep. ad
Amphiloch.
Tom. 2. p.
758, 759.*

wrote to *Amphilochius*; which is also put in among the *Publike Decrees* of the Church, by the Greek *Canonicists*. And yet this Opinion is now confessed by all to be Erroneous.

Many in like manner of the Fathers, as namely † *Tertullian*, * *Clemens Alexandrinus*, † *Lactantius*, and * *Africanus*, believed, that our Saviour Christ kept the Feast of the Passeeover but once onely; after His Baptisme. And yet, notwithstanding this Consent of theirs, the Opinion is known to be very False; as † *Petavius* also testifieth; and besides is expressly Contrary to the Text of the Gospel. I shall not here say any thing of the Opinion of a *St. Chrysostome*, b *St. Hierome*, c *St. Basil*, and the Fathers of the Council held at d *Constantinople* under the Patriarch *Flavianus*; who seem All to have held, that an Oath was utterly Unlawful for Christians, under the *New Testament*. Neither shal I take any notice in this place of that Concept of *Athanasius*, *St. Basil*, and *Methodius*, as he is cited by e *John Bishop of Thessalonica*, who All believed that the *Angels* had *Bodies*: to whom we may also adde, (as we have shewed before,) *St. Hilary*, *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, and very many more of the Fathers, who would all of them have the Nature of *Angels* to be such, as was Capable of the Passions of Carnal love; of which number is even f *St. Augustine* also. Whosoever should now Conclude from hence, that this Fancy of theirs (which yet is of no small Importance) is a Truth; would he not be as sharply reprov'd for it by the *Romanists*, as by those of *Geneva*? But I must not forget, that besides *St. Cyprian*, *St. Augustine*

† *Tertul. lib. Contr. Jud. cap. 8.*

* *Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. 6.*

† *Lactant. Firmian. l. 4. cap. 10.*

* *African. apud Hieron. Com. in Dan. cap. 10. Tom. 4. pag. 1147.*

† *Petav. Not. in Epiph. p. 203.*

a *Chrysost. Hom. in statuas, & passim.*

b *St. Hieron. Com. 1 in Matth. T. 6. p. 15.*

c *Basil Hom. in Ps. 14. T. 1. p. 154 & 155.*

d *Act. Conc. Const. act. 1. T. 2. p. 129. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ ταλτῇ ἡμῖν παρὰ τὸ σωτηριῶς χεῖρ, μὴ ὀμῶσαι, &c.*

e *T. 3. Conc. p. 547. in act. Conc. VII. act. 5.*

f *Aug. T. 1. lib. 1. contr. Acad. c. 7. T. 2. ep. 111. & ep. 115. & T. 3. Enchir. ad Laur. c. 59. de Trin. l. 2. c. 7. & l. 3. cap. 1. & l. 8. cap. 2. et de Gen. ad lit. l. 3. cap. 10. & l. 11. cap. 22. & de divin. Dem. cap. 3. 4. 5. & T. 4. l. 93. quæst. 9. 47. T. 5. l. 11. de Civ. Dei, cap. 25. & l. 15. cap. 23. & ibi Vives; & l. 21. cap. 23. & cap. 10.*

and

and Pope *Innocent I*, whose Testimonies we have given
g Supr. l. 1. c. 8. in *g* before, all the rest of the Doctors, in a manner, of
h Maldon, in the First Ages maintained, that the *Eucharist* was Neces-
Joh. 6. 53. sary for young *Infants*; if at least you dare take *Maldon-*
i Cassand Con- nat's Word, *h* who affirms, that this Opinion was in
sult ad Fer. & great Request in the *Church*, during the first Six Hundred
Max. p. 936. & years after Our Saviour Christ.
lib. de Bapt.
Int. p. 747.

i Cassander also testifieth, that he hath often observed
 this Practise in the Ancients; as indeed is also witnessed
 by *Carolus Magnus*, and by *Ludovicus Pius*, who lived
 a long time after the Sixt Century; both of which assure
 us, that this custome continued in the West, even in Their
 time, as they are cited by Cardinall *k Perron*: and the
k Du. Perr. Traces of this Custome do yet remain to this day amongst
tract. de St. those Christians who are not of the Communion of the
August. pag.
1001.

l Nicol. de Lyra in Iob. No-
 tandum quod ex hoc quod
 dicitur hic, Nisi manduca-
 veritis, &c. dicunt Græci,
 quod hoc sacramentum est
 tante necessitatis, quod pue-
 ris debet dari, sicut Baptis-
 mus.

m Hierem. Patr. Const Doctr.
Exh. ad Germ.

n Alvarez. in
his voyage to
Ethiopia.

l Nicolans Lyrannus,
 who lived somewhat above Three Hundred
 years since, observed, That the Greeks accoun-
 ted the Holy Eucharist so Necessary, as that
 they administred it to Little Children also, as
 well as Baptisme. And even in our Fathers
 time, the Patriarch *m Ieremias*, speaking in
 the name of the whole Greek Church, said,
We do not only Baptize Little Children, but
we also make them partakers of the Lords Supper. And a
 little after: *We account (saith He) both Sacraments to be*
Necessary to Salvation for all persons; namely, Baptisme,
and the Holy Communion. The *n Abyssines* also make
 their Children in like manner Communicate of the Holy
 Eucharist, as soon as ever they are Baptized.

Which are most evident Arguments, that this False
 Opinion, touching the *Necessity of the Eucharist*, hath
 been of old maintained, not by Three, or Four of the Fa-
 thers only, but by the *Major* part, and in a manner by
 All of them.

For we do not hear of so much as One, among all the
 Ancient Fathers, who rejected it in Express Terms; as
 the

the Council of *Trent* hath done, in these Later Times,

To conclude, the Iesuite *o Pererius* hath informed us, *o Perer. in Rom. c. 8. disp. 22. Ep. 23.* (and indeed the observation is Obyious enough to any man, that is never so little conversant in the Writings of those Authors, who lived before *St. Augustines* time) that all the *Greek Fathers*, and a considerable part also of the *Latines*, were of Opinion, that the Cause of *Predestination* was, the *Fore sight* which God had, either of Mens *Good Works*, or else of their *Faith*: either of which Opinions, He assures us, is Manifestly Contrary both to the Authority of the Scriptures, and also to the Doctrine of *St. Paul*. So that I conceive we may, without troubling our selves any further in making this Envious Enquiry into the Errors of the Fathers, conclude from what hath been already produced, that seeing the Fathers have Erred in so many Particulars, not only Singly, but also Many of them together; Neither the Private Opinion of each Particular Father, nor yet the Unanimous Consent of the *Major* part of them, is a Sufficient Argument Certainly to prove the Truth of those Points, which are at this day controverted amongst Us.



CHAP. V.

Reason V. *That the Fathers have Strongly contradicted one another, and have maintained Different Opinions, in Matters of very Great Importance.*

Bessar. Orat.
ἀντιπρὸς ἑαυτοῦς,
c. 2. p. 520. &
521. T. 4 Conc.

Bessarion, a Greek born, who was honoured with the Dignity of Cardinal, by Pope *Eugenius IV.* as a Reward of His Earnest Desire to, and the great Paines he took in endeavoring a Reconciliation betwixt the Eastern and the Western Church, in a Book which he wrote upon this Subject to the Councell of *Florence*, will have the whole Difference, betwixt the Greek and Latine Churches, to be brought before the Judgment Seat of the Fathers.

And for as much as He knew, that unless the Judges did all agree, and were of one Opinion, the Cause (especially in Matters of Religion,) Necessarily remains Undecided; he strongly labours to prove, that He hath all the Fathers consenting not only with Him, but, (which is yet much harder to prove) that they are all of the same Opinion also among themselves; in so much that He commands us, when ever there appeareth any Contrariety in their Writings, that we should accuse our Own Ignorance, rather then blame them for Contradicting each other.

We may conclude therefore, from what is here laid down by this Author, who was both as Acute, and as Learned a man, as any was at this Councell, that to render the Fathers Capable of being the Judges of our Controversies, it is Necessary that they should be All of the same Judgment and Opinion, in Point of Religion.

And certainly This is a most clear Truth. For if there be any Contradiction amongst them, or Dissenting in Opinion, they will leave our Controversies more Perplexed, rather then Decided; and instead of Uniting, will rather Distract us, and rend us into many Parts.

That we may therefore be able to come to the knowledge of the Truth in this Particular, it will concern us first of all to examine, whether that which *Bessarion* addeth hereupon be True also, or not; Namely, that the Opinions of the Fathers do never clash one with the other, touching the Points of our Religion.

Now although this were so, yet would it not Necessarily follow from hence, that their Judgment must needs be therefore *Infallible*; for as much as even an Error may, either by the Consent of the severall Parties, or by Accident, or else by some other the like means, happen to meet with an Unanimous entertainment by severall Persons.

But now in case this should prove to be false, then certainly we may make this Infallible Conclusion, that we ought to seek out for other Judges of our Controversies, then the Writings of the Fathers. We shall therefore shew, by way of addition to the rest of our Proofs, that this Assertion of his is more Bold then True; and, that there are very many Reall Differences to be found among the Ancient Fathers, in Matters of Religion.

We have already touched before upon some of them, by the bye only, as lying in our way, speaking of other Matters, and therefore we shall only Lightly run them over again; as Namely, first of all, That Disagreement in Opinion of the Most Ancient among the Fathers, *Iustine Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, and *Tertullian*, on one side; and *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, and *St. Hierome* on the other: the First of these promising us very seriously the Delights and Pleasures of a Thousand years, and the *Diamonds*, and the *Saphires* of a New, Earthly *Ierusalem*, with all Its Glory, and Prosperity:

but the other very Courſely, and in downright terms reproving this their Conceit, as being an Idle Fancy, fit to be entertained by Little Children, and Old women only; and which ſeems to have been derived rather from the Dreams of the *Jews*, then from the Doctrine of the *Apoſtles*.

The like to this was that Difference betwixt the Biſhops of *Asia*, and Pope *Victor*, about the Obſervation of *Eaſter-day*: and of *Cyprian*, and *Stephen*, about the *Baptiſme of Hereticks*: in all which Differences the Heat was ſo high, as that it went on as far, as to Excommunicating each other. If *Befſarion* now could but make it appear to us, that theſe were not *Reall*, but *Seeming* Contradictions only, I ſhould then make no queſtion at all, but that He would as eaſily reconcile *Fire*, and *Water*, or whatever things elſe in Nature are the moſt Contrary the one to the other.

We have heard that *Tertullian* maintained, that the *Soul* was *Ex Traduce*, and was propagated from the Father to the Son, by the Naturall Courſe of Generation; and that *St. Auguſtine* likewise enclined to the ſame

Opinion: to whom, if we will believe * *St. Hierome*, we muſt adde a very conſiderable number of the *Western Church* alſo, who were all of the ſame Perſwaſion. But † *St. Hierome* rejects them all, and their Opinion, and ſaies, that the *Soul* is created Immediately by God, at the very Inſtant that it is united to the Body; adding withall, (as we have

formerly noted unto you) that This is the Belief of the Church in this Point.

St. Hierome, and thoſe of His Faction held, that all that Reprehenſion uſed by *St. Paul*, to *St. Peter*, which we find mentioned in the *Epistle to the Galatians*, was only a Feigned Buſineſs, purpoſely Acted betwixt the two *Apoſtles*, by an Agreement made betwixt themſelves. *St. Auguſtine*, with thoſe of His ſide, maintains the

* *Hieron. Ep. 82. T. 2.* An certè ex traduce, ut Tertullianus, Apollinarius et maxima pars Occidentalium autumant.

† *Id. Com. in Ecclef. c. 12. T. p. et Ep. 61. ad Pamm. T. 2. 5. 242. et alibi paſſim.*

the Contrary, and saies, that the thing was Reall, and was meant Heartily, and Seriously, and as it is related by St. Paul; and that there was no cunning, or Underhand Dealing in the business, or any Scene laid betwixt St. Peter and him. And St. Hierome pursued this Dispute with so much Heat, and Earnestness, as that besides those *Epistles* of His, which are full of Gall, and Choler, written against St. Augustine touching this Particular;

He yet in His * *Commentaries* also, which were Pieces that He wrote in his Quieter Temper, many times takes occasion to gird underhand at St. Augustine, upon this Old Quarrell betwixt them. So that Certainly he must

needs be quite out of his Wits, who ever shall seriously go about to maintain, that these two Fathers were per-

fectly of One Opinion, and Agreed upon this Point. *a* Justine Martyr is of Opinion, that it was the Reall Ghost of Samuel, that appeared to Saul, being raised up by the Enchantments of the Witch at Endor. *b* Others say it was but a Fantasmie. *c* Some of them hold, that the meeting together of the Faithfull at the Eucharist Thrice a week, is an Apostolicall Tradition: *d* Others believe the Contrary. *e* Some enjoyn us to Fast on Saturdays; *f* others forbid the same, under the penalty of being accounted no less then the Murtherers of Christ. *g* Some of them conceive, that our Saviour Christ suffered death, in the Fortieth, or Fiftieth year of his age: *h* others again would perswade us, that he dyed in the Thirtieth, or Thirty first year of his age: both which Opinions are manifestly contrary to the Text of the Gospel, which tells us cleerly, that after his Baptisme, that is to say, after the Thirtieth year of His age, he conversed above Three, and under Five years, upon the Earth. Some of them (as we are informed by these *i* Latinized

a Justin. cont. Tryph. p. 333. τὸν Σαμουὴλ Ψυχῶν κληθῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἐλπίσεως.

b Pseudo. Inst. l. 2. c. R. Resp. ad q. 52. τὸ δὲ τὸ δεδοκότε τὸ δαίμονι, ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ Σαμουὴλ ὁφθῆναι τῇ ἐγλασεμύδῳ.

c Epiph. in Panar. Expos. fid. p. 1104.

d August. in Ep. 118. ad Fan. T. 3. vid. Petav. in Epiph. p. 354.

e Vide Petav. p. 359. in Epiph. Eccl. Rom. ap. Socr. l. 5. c. 22. August. Ep. 86. et. 118. Innoc. I. Ep. 1. c. 4.

f Ignat. Ep. 4. ad Philip. Can. Apost. c. 68. Constit. Apost. l. 7. c. 24. Syn. Trull. can. 55.

g Iren. l. 2. c. 39.

h Tertull. Clem. Alex. Laftant. Afric. ubi supr.

i Scholarius, Orat. 3. T. 4. Concil. Gen. p. 658, 659.

Greeks)

Greeks) allow of these Terms, *Cause*, and *Effect*, in the Doctrine of the Trinity, but some others again do not so.

Some of them are of Opinion, that there is a Certain Order, or Distinction of Priority, in the Persons of the Trinity; others again there are, who will not endure to hear of this Expression.

Those of the Western Church call the *Son* only, *The Image of the Father*; but the Greek Church maketh this Name extend to the *Holy Ghost* also. *St. Basil* will not allow of the word *ὑπόστασις*, in discoursing of the *Son*: Others again make use of it, without any Scruple at all.

I doubt very much, whether *Bessarion* had ever seen the *Apologies*, and *Invectives* of *St. Hierome*, and of *Ruffinus*; who were yet both of them Fathers, and of good Repute too in the Church, both that of their own time, and of the Ages following; although they were not both of them of Equal Esteem. Neither do I believe He remembered that Quarrel that there was betwixt *Theophilus* and *Epiphanius* on the one Part, and *St. Chrysostome* on the other.

For Certainly their Carriage toward each other in this their Debate doth not shew them to have been so very good friends, and so well agreed upon the Point Debated. But now to overthrow this Bold Assertion of his at once, we need go no further then to the very Point it self, touching which He proposed it. For, whom will He ever be able to perswade, that All the Fathers have written and said the very same things, touching the *Procession of the Holy Ghost*? It is Evident, that sometimes they will have it to Proceed from the *Son* also; as *St. Basil* by name hath expressed himself, in that Passage of his, which is alleaged by the *Latines*, out of His book against *Eunomius*; (which Piece yet the *Greeks* say is forged :) and as the Fathers of the Western Church have most expressly declared themselves in many places. But yet I cannot Possibly see, how we can say, that they have All been of This Opinion.

I shall not here meddle with those other Authorities, produced by the Greeks out of the Fathers; which their Adversaries put by, as well as they can; oftentimes most miserably wresting, and stretching upon the Rack the Words, and Meaning of the Fathers. But that Passage of *Theodore*t, in his Refutation of *St. Cyril's Anathema's*, is so Clear, and Express, as that nothing can be more.

† *St. Cyril* had said, in his IX *Anathema*, that the *Holy Ghost* proceedeth Properly from the *Son*. * *Theodore*t answereth, that it is both Impious, and Blasphemous to say, that the *Holy Ghost* hath its Subsistence from the *Son*, or by the *Son*. If he mean (saith he) that the *Holy Ghost* proceedeth properly from the *Son*, as being of the same Nature with It, and as Proceeding from the Father, We shall willingly agree with him, and shall receive His Doctrine, as Sound, and Pious. But if he mean, that the *Holy Ghost* hath its Subsistence from the *Son*, or by the *Son*, We must then reject it, as Impious, and Blasphemous. He could not have thrown by this Proposition of *St. Cyril* more bluntly, or in Courser Terms: and yet for all this so flat giving him the Lye, as it were, and his so Insolent Rejecting of an Opinion that was then received by the Church, as the *Latines* pretend, † *St. Cyril* replies no more but this; That the *Holy Ghost*, although It proceed from the Father, yet neverthelesse is not a stranger to the *Son*; since He hath all things Common with the Father. Why did he not cry out against him as an Heretick, as he many times elsewhere doth, with much lesse reason; if at least you must needs have it granted you, that the Opinion of the Church at that time was, that the *Holy Ghost* proceeded from the *Son*? Why did he not take it very ill

† *Cyrl. Anath. 9.* ἰδιον αὐτοῦ (χριστοῦ) τὸ πνεῦμα.
* *Theodor. Refut. Anath. 9. Cyrl. Act. Conc. Eph.* Ἰδιον δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ υἱῷ, εἰ μὴ ὡς ὁμοφυεῖς, καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον ἐστίν, συνομολογῆσομεν, καὶ ὡς ἐνσεβῆ δεξάμεθα πλὴν φωνῆν· εἰ δ' ὡς ἐξ υἱοῦ, ἢ δι' υἱοῦ πλὴν ὑπαρξίν ἔχον, ὡς ἐλάττωμον τῷ τοῦ, καὶ ὡς δυσσεβῆς ἀπορίτωμεν.

† *Cyrl. Resp. ad Ref. Theod. Anath. 9. ibid.* Ἐκπορεύεται μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, κατὰ πλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ φωνῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλλοτείνον ἐστὶ τῷ υἱῷ· πάντα γὰρ ἔχει μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς.

at his hands, that he should in so Insolent a manner-reject, as Impious, and Blasphemous, a Proposition that was so Holy, and so True? Why did he not call the Whole Church in, to be his Warrant for what he had said; if so be it had Really been the General Belief of the Church at that time? And how comes it to passe, that in stead of all this, He rather returns so Tame an Answer, as seems rather to betray His own Cause, & something also to encline to the contrary Opinion of His Adversaries? For it is Evident, that neither *Theodoret*, nor yet any of the *Modern Greeks* ever held, that the *Holy Ghost* was a *Stranger* to, or was Unconcerned in the *Son*: seeing they all confesse, that these Three, to wit, the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghost*, are One, and the same God, who is Blessed for ever.

Whosoever shall but diligently consider these things, (for we cannot stand any longer upon the Examination of them,) he cannot, in my judgment, but confesse that the Church had not as yet declared it self, or Determined any thing touching This Point; and, that these Doctors spake herein each man his own Private Opinion onely, and according as the Present Occasion of Disputation led him to speak; where you shall have them Contradicting one another, in like manner as is usual in speaking of things not as yet thoroughly examined, or expressly Determined: in so much that it would grieve a man to see, how the *Greeks* and the *Latines* toyl and sweat to no purpose, each of them labouring to bring over the Fathers to speak to Their side, and fearfully wresting their Words, whensoever they seem to be but never so little Ambiguous; and ever and anon accusing one another of having corrupted the Ancient's Writings, whensoever they are found to speak Expressly against them: and when all is done, leaving those who either read, or hear them without any Prejudice, very much Unsatisfied; whereas it had been much more Easie to have Honestly confessed at first, that which is but too Apparent, that the Fathers, as in This, so
in

in many other Points of Religion, have not all been of one and the same Perswasion.

And whereas † *Bessarion*, that he may elude this Testimony of *Theodore*, affirms, that he was cast forth of the Church, for having denied that the *Holy Ghost* proceeded from the *Son*; and that He afterwards Publicly confessed his Errour, at the Councell of *Chalcedon*, where he was received into the Church again; all this, I say, is onely a Piece of *Grecian Confidence*; which shews more clearly then all the rest, how much this Man was carried away with His Passion, and the violence of his Affection to the *Latine Church*.

† *Bessar. in Orat. Dogmat. sine de Unione Extra. cap. 9. in Act. Conc. Flor. Sess. 28. T. 4. Conc. p. 551.*

For, I beseech you, in what Ancient Authour had he ever read, that *Theodore* was, I do not say, Condemned, or Excommunicated, but so much as Reproved, or Accused onely, for having maintained any Erroneous Opinion, touching the *Procession* of the *Holy Ghost*? We have the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*, where he was Excommunicated: We have the Letters of *St. Cyrill*, wherein He again received into the Communion of the Church *John*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, and all His Followers, of which number *Theodore* was the Chiefe. We have the Councell of *Chalcedon*, where *Theodore*, after some certain Cryings out of His Adversaries against Him, was at length received by the whole Assembly as a Catholick Bishop, and was admitted to sit amongst them. In which of all these Authentick Pieces is there so much as one word spoken, touching this Opinion of his, concerning the point of the *Proceeding* of the *Holy Ghost*? *St. Cyrill* himself, that is to say, those of His Party, did not at all condemn what He said, touching this particular; but he rather contented himself in excusing, or, if you please, in defending only His own Opinion. The business for which *Theodore* was Questioned in the Councils of *Ephesus*, and of *Chalcedon*, had nothing in the world to do with This, touching the *Procession* of the *Holy Ghost*: for, the Question was only there, touching the Two Na-
tures

tures of our Saviour *Christ*, whom *Nestorius* would needs divide into *Two Persons*; *John*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, *Theodore*t, and divers other Eastern Bishops, favouring in some sort his Person, or being indeed offended rather at the proceeding of the Councell of *Ephesus* against Him; and withall rejecting severall things, that were contained in the *Anathemas* of *St. Cyrill*.

Now with what Face could this man tell us, after all this, that *Theodore*t had been deposed from his Bishoprick, for having maintained an Erroneous Opinion touching the *Procession* of the *Holy Ghost*? But enough of this

I would in the next place faine know, how This *Reconciler of Differences* could compose that Debate betwixt the DCXXX Fathers of the Councel at *Chalcedon*, and *Leo*, Bishop of *Rome*; and how He can reconcile the XXVIII Canon of the One, with those many Epistles written by the Other, touching this Point, to *Anatolius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to the Emperour *Marciannus*, and his Empresse, to the Prelats who were there met together in that Councel, and to the Patriarch of *Antioch*: the Fathers of this Councel advancing the Throne of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, above those of *Alexandria*, and of *Antioch*, and making it Equall even with that of *Rome* it self: Pope *Leo* in the mean time sending out His Thunderbolts against this *Decree* of theirs, and charging them as guilty of a most insufferable Injury offered Him. And when this our *Conciliator* shall have done his business at *Chalcedon*, if He please, he may pass over into *Africk*, and there also Reconcile the Fathers of that Country to the Bishops of *Rome*; the former of these forbidding their Clergy to make any *Appeals* to *Rome*; and the other in the mean time to their utmost endeavouring to prove, that it is Their Proper Right, to have such *Appeals* brought before Them. And when He hath finished this work, our *Greek* may then in the next place try to remove all misunderstanding betwixt the Fathers of the Councel

Council of *Francfort*, and those of the II Council of *Nice*, touching the Point of the use of *Images*; the Latter of these Ordaining † *That We ought to pay unto Them Salutations, and Adoration of Honour; and that we ought to honour them with Incense, and Lights*: and the other, as every man knows, having not onely rejected this *Greek Council*; but having written also Expressly against it, by the Command of the Emperour *Carolus Magnus*.

Certainly He that shall but read the Fathers themselves, will easily and quickly percieve, that they clash, and contradict each other, in most plain and Irreconcilable Terms; and that there is no other way of bringing them honestly together, but by receiving every one of them, with His own Private Opinions; imitating herein the Marvellous Wisdom of the Council of * *Constantinople in Trullo*; which receiveth and alloweth of all in gross, without distinction, both the *Canons of the Apostles*, and the whole *Code of the Church Universal*, together with those of *Sardica*, *Carthage*, and *Laodicea*; amongst which notwithstanding there are found strong Contradictions.

As for Example, the † Council of *Sardica* will have the Right of receiving the *Appeals* of all Bishops to belong to the See of *Rome*; whereas * *Chalcedon* gives this Priviledge to that of *Constantinople*. The Council of † *Laodicea* leaveth out of the *Canon of the Scriptures*, the *Macca-bees*, *Ecclesiasticus*, the book of *Wisdom*, *Tobit*, and *Judith*: * that of *Carthage* puts them in Expressly. But now these Honest Fathers of *Constantinople*, to the end they may give content to All the World, take no notice at all of these their Differences; but receive each of them, with their own Particular Canons, and Opinions, without obliging them to any one *Common Rule*; doing this, I believe, upon condition, that themselves may not be required, by those whom They thus admit, to receive any more from Them, then they shall think convenient. I

† Conc. VII.
Act. 7. in disn.
T. 3 Conc. p.
661. καὶ ταύ-
ταις ἀπα-
στὰς καὶ πᾶσι
τοῖς ἐκκλη-
σιαστικοῖς
ἀποδέχεται.

† Ib. p. 662. καὶ
συμμάχων
καὶ φίλων ἐκ-
κλησιαστικῶν
πᾶσι τῶν
ἐκκλησιαστικῶν
ἐκκλ.

* Synod. Qui-
niscexta Can.
2. T. 3. Con.

† Synod. Sard.
Can. 3. & 7.
* Synod. Chal-
ced. c. 9. &
17.

† Synod. Laod.
Can. 59.
* Synod. Car-
thag III. c.
47.

know no man, that would not at this Rate readily admit of, as *Canon*, all the Writings of the Fathers; provided that He might but have Liberty to take, or leave therein what He thought good.

So that we may very well from henceforth rest satisfied, that, notwithstanding *Bessarion's* Resolution to the Contrary, the Fathers have not alwaies been of the same Judgment in matters of Religion: and that Consequently they ought not to be received by Us, as our Judges touching the same.

For, seeing that I find them contradicting each other, in so many several Points of very great Importance; how shall I be assured, that They are all unanimously agreed, touching those Points which are now debated amongst Us?

Why may they not have had the same Diversity of Opinion, touching the Point of the *Eucharist*, the *Authority* of the *Church*, the *Power* of the *Pope*, *Free-will*, or *Purgatory*, that they had in those other Points which we have before presented to the Readers view; which were of as great Importance as these, and no lesse Easie to be determined; as we have proved in the Chapter Preceding?

Epiphanius and *St. Hierome* are as Opposite in their Judgments, touching the Ancient Condition of *Priests* and *Bishops*, as *Theodoret* and *St. Cyrill* are, touching the *Procession* of the *Holy Ghost*. Neither are some Opinions of *Tertullian*, and of *Damascene*; *Theodoret*, and of *Eusebius Emisenus*; of *Eusebius Casareensis*, and of the VII *Council*, touching the Point of the *Eucharist*, more Opposite to each other; then are those of *Cyprian* and of *Stephen*, touching the *Baptisme* of *Hereticks*: and so likewise in many other Particulars.

Why then should we take so much pains, and trouble our selves so to no purpose, in reconciling these men, and making them speak all the same thing?

Why

Why should we so cruelly, and so Uncivilly Rack them as we do, to make them all of one Opinion, and to say the same things, whether they will or no; and, sometimes too against our Own Conscience; but certainly, for the most part, without any Satisfaction to the Reader?

Why should we not rather Honestly confesse, that their Opinions were also Different, as well as their Words?

We make no Scruple at all to confesse, that They have been of Contrary Opinions, touching those other Points of Religion, which are not at all now Controverted amongst Us: How much greater harm, for Gods sake, would it be, if we should confesse, that They have not any better agreed among themselves, touching These Points now in debate?

But we shall not need to presse this matter any further: it is sufficient for us that we have proved, that They were of Different Opinions in Point of Religion: so that it clearly follows from hence, that We ought not to admit of Their Writings, as the Proper Judges of our Controversies:

I have formerly touched, though very Lightly only, upon their Diversity of Opinion, and Contrariety, in their Expositions upon the Scriptures, which yet is a business of no very small Consideration.

For if we take Them for our Judges, we shall necessarily then have occasion every minute of having Recourse to Them, touching the sense of those Passages of Scripture, about which we disagree among our selves. If now there be as great Contrarieties, and Difference in Judgment touching These Things among Them, as there is amongst Our selves; what have we then left us to trust to? This Passage for Example, in the Gospel according to *St. Iohn*, *I and My Father are One*, is of very great Importance, in the Disputes against both *Sabellius*, and *Arius*. *Ioh. 10. 30. Ego et Pater unum sumus.*

Would you now know the True Sense and Meaning of these words, lest otherwise by misinterpreting the same,

you might chance to fall into the one, or the other of these two Precipices? If you have recourse to the Fathers in this Case, you shall have [†] some of them referring it to the *Union* of the *Affection*, and of the *Will*; and ^{*} others again, to the *Unity* of *Essence* and of *Nature*.

So likewise this other passage in the same Evangelist; *a My Father is greater then I* is very Considerable also, in the Question touching the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*: And yet there are *b* some among the Fathers, who understand the words as spoken Indefinitely of the *Son of God*, although the rest of them do ordinarily restrain them to His *Humanity*. These words also of *St. Iohn*, *e The word was made Flesh*, are of no small Consideration, in the Disputes against *Nestorius*, and *Eutyches*. Now if you bring the business before the Fathers, you shall have *d* some of them expounding these words, by comparing them with those Passages in *St. Paul*, where it is said that *e Christ was made sin*, and *a f Curse for us*: but *g St. Cyrill* saith, that we must take heed how we interpret the words so.

It would be an endless Task, if I should here go about to reckon up all the Differences, and Contrarieties of Judgment, that are to be found in the Fathers.

Those that have a mind to see any more of them, may have recourse to some of our Late *Commentators* whose usuall course is, to bring in all together the severall Interpretations of the Fathers, upon those Books which they Comment upon: as *Maldonate* hath done, upon the Gospels; Cardinal *Tolet*, upon *St. Iohn*, *Bened. Justinianus*, upon the Epistles of *St. Paul*, and others: where they will find, that there is scarcely any one Verse, that the Ancients have understood all of them after one and the same.

† *Tertul. Contr. Prax. c. 22.*
Unum non pertinet ad singularitatem, sed ad unitatem, ad similitudinem, ad conjunctionem, ad delectionem patris, qui Filium diligit, et ad obsequium Filii, qui Voluntati Patris obsequitur.

Autor libri de Trin. c. 22.
Orig. Contr. Celsum, lib. 8. p. 393.

* *Athanas. Greg. Nazianz.*
alii pene omnes passim.

a *Iob. 14. 28.*

b *Epiphan. Ancor. p. 23.*

c *Iob. 1. 14.*

d *Ambros. l. de Incar. Sacr. c. 6. T. 2. p. 183.*

Athanas. Ep ad Epict. T. 1. p. 587. & T. 2. p. 298.

e *2 Cor. 5. 21.*

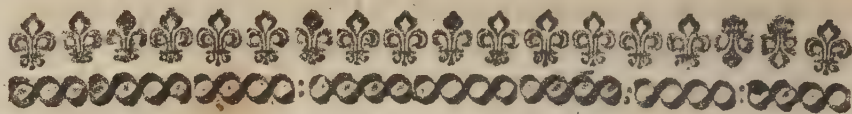
f *Gal. 3. 13.*

g *Cyrill. Apol. Athanas. 1. T. 1.*

Conc. Gener. p. 515.

same manner. And which is yet worse then this, besides this Contrariety, and Difference of Interpretation, you will often meet with very many Cold, and Empty Expositions; and it is very seldome that you shall find there that solid Simplicity which we ought to expect from all those, who take upon them the Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

For as much therefore as we many times meet with Contrariety of Judgment, as well in their Expositions of the Scriptures, as in their Opinions; we may safely conclude, that they are not of sufficient Authority to be admitted as the Supream Judges of Our Controversies: that Contradiction, which is often found amongst them, evidently shewing, that They are not *Infallible Judges*, such as it is requisite that they should be, for the making good of all those Points, which are at this day maintaiued by the Church of *Rome* against the *Protestants*.



CHAP. VI.

Reason VI. *That neither those of the Church of Rome, nor the Protestants do acknowledg the Fathers for their Judges in Points of Religion, but do both of them reject such of Their Opinions, and Practises, as are not for their Gust. An Answer to Two Objections, that may be made against what hath been here delivered in this Discourse.*

THus far have we laboured to prove, that the Writings of the Fathers have not Authority enough in themselves, for to be received as *Definitive Sentences* passed upon Our Differences in Religion.

Let us now in the Last place see, how much they have in respect of Us. For although a Sentence of Judgment should be Good, and Valid in it self, as being pronounced by one who is a Competent, and Lawfull Judg, Duly and according to the Formes of Law; yet notwithstanding would not this serve to determine the Controversie, if so be the Authority of this Judg be denied by either of the Parties, (unless, as it is in worldly Affaires, the Law be armed with such a Power, as is able to force those that are Obstinate to submit to Reason:) for as much as the Question is here touching Religion, which is a Holy, and Divine thing, to the embracing whereof Men ought to be perswaded, and not compelled, since Force hath no place Here. For although perhaps they could compell Men outwardly to render some such Respect to the Writings of the Fathers, yet notwithstanding would not this serve to make any Impression of the Belief of the same, in the Heart of any one.

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The same Divisions would still remain in the Minds of Men, which you are first of all to pull up by the Roots, if ever you intend to reconcile them to each other, and to make them agree in Point of Religion.

For the certain Determination therefore of all Differences of this nature, it is necessary that Both Parties be perswaded, that the Judg, who is to pronounce Sentence upon the same, hath as much Authority as is Requisite for that purpose. Notwithstanding therefore that the Fathers should have Clearly, and Positively pronounced what They had thought, touching the Point in hand, which yet they have not done, as we have proved before: Let us suppose further, that They had been endued with all those Qualities, which are Requisite for the rendering a man fit to be a *Supream Iudg*, and from whom there can be no Appeal, which yet is not so, as we have already cleerly proved: yet notwithstanding would all this be to no purpose, unless This Authority were acknowledged by Both Parties.

The *Old Testament* is a Book which was written by Divine *Inspiration*, and is endued with so supreme an Authority, as that every part of it ought to be believed. Yet doth not this work any whit at all with a *Pagan*; because He doth not acknowledg any such Excellent worth to be in it:

In like manner is it, betwixt the *New Testament* and the *Jew*: neither can It decide the Differences betwixt the *Jews* and us; not because It is not of sufficient Authority in it self; but, because It is not so to the *Jew*. And indeed he were worthy to be laughed at, whosoever should alledg, in Disputing against the *Pagans*, the Authority of the *Old Testament*; or that of the *New*, for the bringing of a *Jew* over to Our Belief.

Suppose therefore, that the *V Vritings* of the Fathers were Clear, upon our Questions: nay which is more, let it be granted moreover (if you please,) that they were written by Divine *Inspiration*, and are of themselves of a
Full

Full, and Undeniable Authority : I say still, that they cannot decide Our Debates, if so be that either of the Parties shall refuse to acknowledg this Great and Admirable dignity to be in them ; much lesse if Both Parties shall refuse to allow them to have This Priveledg. Let us now therefore see, in what account the severall Parties have the Fathers ; and, whether they acknowledg them as the *Supreme Judges* of their Religion ; or at least as *Arbitrators*, whose Definitive Sentence ought to stand Firm, and Inviolable. As for Our Protestants of *France*, whom their Adversaries would fain perswade, if they could, to receive the Fathers for Judges in Religion ; and to whom Consequentially they ought not, according to the Lawes of a Legitimate Disputation, to alledg for the Proof of any Point in debate, any other Principles, then what They do allow of ; it is evident, that they attribute to the Fathers nothing lesse, then such an Authority. For, in their *Confession of Faith* they declare, in the very beginning of it, That They hold the *Scriptures* to be the *Rule* of Their Faith : and as for all other *Ecclesiastical Writings*, although they account them to be *Useful*, yet neverthelesse do they not Conceive, that a man may safely build Any Article of Faith upon Them.

*Confess. de foi
des Eglis. Ref.
de Fran. Art.
4.*

And indeed seeing that they believe, (as they tell you immediately after,) that the *Scripture* containeth all things Necessary both for the service of God, and the Salvation of Mens Souls, They have no need of any other Judg, and should in vain have recourse to the Writings of the Ancients ; the Authority whereof, how great soever it be, is still much lesse, both in it self, and also in respect of Us, then that of the Bible.

In the next place they seriously professe, that their Intent is to reform the Christian Doctrine according to This *Rule* ; and to retain Firmly what Articles of Faith soever are therein delivered ; and to reject Constantly all those, that are not there found laid down, how High and Eminent soever the Authority be, that shall rescind the One,

or

or Establish the other in the Belief of Men. *It is not Law-ful* (say They) *for Men, nor yet for the Angels themselves either to add to, or to diminish from, or to alter it; neither may Antiquity, nor Customes, nor Multitude, nor Judgments, nor Humane Wisdome, nor Definitive Sentences, nor Edicts, nor Decrees, nor Councils, nor Visions, nor Miracles be brought in Opposition to It : but on the Contrary rather, all other things ought to be examined, regulated, and reformed by It.* These be their own Words. If therefore They will not depart from this their Belief, which is as it were the Foundation and Key of their whole Reformation; they cannot receive the Fathers, who lived in the Second, Third, and Fourth, and so in the following Centuries, as Judges, nor yet Absolutely, and Simply, as Witnesses, in the Points of Faith. For They all hold, that That Pure, Simple and Holy Doctrine which was taught, and preached by the Apostles at the beginning of Christianity, & delivered over unto us by themselves in the *New Testament*, hath been by little and little altered and corrupted; Time, which changeth all things, continually mixing among it some corruption or other: sometimes a *Jewish*, or a *Heathenish* Opinion, & sometimes again some Nice Observation; otherwhiles some Superstitious Ceremony or other; whilest one building upon the Foundation with *Stubble*, another with *Hay*, a Third with *Wood*; the Body seems at length by little & little to have become quite another thing then it Anciently was; we having, in stead of a Palace of Gold, and of Silver, a house built up of *Plaster*, *Stone*, *Wood*, and *Mud*, and the like pittiful Stuff. In like manner, (say They) as we see, that Brooks of water, the farther distant they are from their springs, the more filth they contract, and the more doth their Water loose of its First Purity. And as a Man, the more he groweth in years, the more doth that Native simplicity, which appeared in him in his Infancy, decay; his Body, and his mind are changed, and he is so much altered by little and little, through study, Art, and Cunning, that at length he

seemeth to be clean another man : In like manner (say They) hath it fared with Christianity. And here they presently urge that notable Passage out of *St. Paul*, in his second Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, where He speaks of a *Great Falling away*, which then in His time began already to work Secretly, and Insensibly, but was not to break forth till a long time after ; as you see it is in all Great Things, whether in Nature, or in the Affaires, and Occurrences that happen to Mankind, which are all Conceived, and Hatched slowly, and by Degrees, and are sometimes a Whole Age, before they are brought forth.

Now according to this *Hypothesis*, which, as I conceive, is Equally Common to us of *France* and all other *Protestants* whatsoever, the Doctrine of the Church must Necessarily have suffered some Alteration in the second Age of Christianity, by admitting the Mixture of some New Matter into its Belief, and Policie : and so likewise in the Third Age some other Corruption must Necessarily have got in : and so in the Fourth, Fifth, and the rest that follow ; the Christian Religion continually losing something of Its Originall Purity, and Simplicity ; and on the other side still contracting all along some new Impurities, till at length it came to the Highest Degree of Corruption : in which Condition, They say, They found it ; and have now at last, by the Guidance of the Scriptures, restored it to the self same State, wherein it was at the Beginning ; and have, as it were, fixed it again upon Its True, and proper *Hinge*, from whence partly by the Ignorance, and partly by the Fraud of Men, during the space of so Many Ages together, it had by little and little been removed.

This therefore being Their Opinion, they cannot admit of, as the *Rule* of all their Doctrine, the Writings of any of the Fathers, who lived from the Apostles time down to Ours, without betraying, and Contradicting themselves. For, according to what They maintain touching the Progress of Corruption in Religion, there hath

hath been some Alteration in the Christian Doctrine, both in the Second, Third, and all the following Ages.

And then again, according to what They conceive, and believe of Their own *Reformation*, Their Doctrine is the very same, that was in the time of the Apostles, as being taken immediately out of Their Books. If therefore they should examine it by what the Fathers of the Second Century believed, there must Necessarily be something found in the Doctrine of the Fathers, which is not in Theirs: and the Difference will be much greater, if the Comparison be made betwixt it, and the Doctrine of the Third, Fourth, and the following Ages; in all which, according to Their *Hypothesis*, the Corruption hath continually encreased. For if their Doctrines were in every respect conformable to each other, and had in them neither more nor Lesse the one then the other, there must necessarily then follow one of these two things; namely, that either This Corruption, which They presuppose to be in the Belief, and Politie of the Church, is not that *Secret*, which worked in *St. Pauls* time; or else, that their *Reformation* is not the Pure, and Simple Doctrine of the Apostles: the Members of which Division are Contradictory to those two Positions, which as we have said, They all of them Unanimously maintain. So that to avoid this Contradiction, it concerns Them Constantly to persevere in that, which They Profess is their Belief, in Their *Confession of Faith*: to wit, that there are no Ecclesiasticall Writings whatsoever, that are of so sufficient Authority, as that a man may safely build upon them, and make them the *Judges of Faith*; and, that the Holy *Scripture* is the only *Rule*, by which all these things are to be Examined.

And this is that which they All agree upon, (as far as I have either read, or known;) as any man may see, in the Books of *Calvin*, *Bucer*, *Melanethon*, *Luther*, *Beza*, and the rest; who all relye upon the Authority of the Scriptures only; and admit not of any part of the Au-

thority of the Fathers, as a sufficient Ground whercon to build any Article of their Belief.

It is true, I confess, that some of their First Authors, as namely, *Bucer*, *Peter Martyr*, and *J. Jewell*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, and in a manner all the Later Writers also alledge the Testimonies of the *Fathers*; but (if you but mark it) it is only by way of Confutation, and not of Establishing any thing: They do it only to overthrow the Opinions of the Church of *Rome*, and not to strengthen their Own. For, though they hold, that the Doctrine of the *Fathers* is not so Pure, as that of the *Apostles*; yet do They withall believe, that it is much Purer, then that which is at this day taught by the Church of *Rome*; the Purity of Doctrine having continually decayed, and the Impurity of it encreased, in such sort, as that the further they are removed from the Time of the *Apostles*, the nearer they approach (as They say) towards the afore-mentioned *Falling away* spoken of by *St. Paul*.

Although the Protestants therefore allow the *Scriptures* onely for the True Foundation of their Faith; yet notwithstanding do they account the Writings of the Fathers to be Necessary also, and of good Use unto them; First of all, in the Proving this *Decay*, which They say hath happened in Christianity: and Secondly, for the making it appear, that the Opinions, which their Adversaries now maintain, were not in those daies brought into any Form; but were as yet onely in their Seeds.

As for example, *Transubstantiation* was not as yet an Article of Faith; notwithstanding that long ago they did, Innocently, and not foreseeing what the issue might prove to be, believe some certain things, out of which, being afterwards licked over, by passing through diverse several Languages, *Transubstantiation* was at length made up.

So likewise the *Supremacy* of the *Pope* had at that time no place in the belief of Men: although those small Threds,

Threds, and Root-strings, from whence this Vail, and Wonderful Power first sprung, long since appeared in the world.

And the like may be said of the greatest part of those other Points, which the *Protestants* will not by any means receive. And that this is their Resolution, and sense, appears evidently by those many Books which they have written upon this subject, wherein they shew Historically the whole Progress of this *Decay* in Christianity, as well in Its *Faith*, as in Its *Polity*, and *Discipline*.

And truly this Their Design seemeth to be very sufficient, and satisfactory. For, seeing that They propose nothing Positively, and as an Article of Faith, Necessary to Salvation, which may not easily and plainly be proved out of the Scripture; they have no need to make use of any other Principle, for the Demonstration of the Truth.

Furthermore, seeing that those Positive Articles of Faith which They believe, are in a manner all of them received, and confessed by the Church of *Rome*, as we have said before in the Preface to this Treatise, there is no need of troubling a man's self to prove the same; those things, which both Parties are agreed upon, being never to be proved, but are alwaies presupposed in all Disputations.

Yet notwithstanding, if any one have a mind to be informed, what the Belief of the *Fathers* hath been touching the said Articles; it is an easie matter for them to make it appear, that They also believed all of them, as well as themselves: as, for Example, *That there is a God, a Christ, a Salvation, a Sacrament of Baptisme, a Sacrament of the Eucharist*, and the like Truths; the greatest part whereof we have formerly set down, in the Beginning of this Discourse.

And as for those other Articles, which are proposed to the world, besides all these, by the Church of *Rome*; it is sufficient

sufficient for Them, that they are able to answer the Arguments which are brought to prove them, and to make it by this means appear, that they have not any sure Ground at all; and Consequently neither may, nor ought to be received into the Faith of Christians. And this is the Use, that the *Protestants* make of the *Fathers*; evidently making it appear to the world (out of them) that They did not hold the said Articles, as the Church of *Rome* doth at this day.

So that Their Alledging of the *Fathers* to this purpose onely, and indeed their Whole Practise in these Disputes, declare evidently enough, that They conceive not the Belief of the Church of *Rome* to be so Perfectly, and Exactly Conformable to that of Antiquity; especially of the Four, or Five First Ages: which accords very well with Their *Hypothesis*, touching the *Corruption* of the Christian Doctrine: But yet no man may conclude from hence, that They do allow of the Authority of the *Fathers*, as a Sufficient Foundation to ground any Article of Faith upon; for this is repugnant both to their Doctrine, and to the Protestation which they upon all Occasions make Expressly to the Contrary. So that I cannot but extremely wonder at the Proceeding of some of our Modern Authours, who in their Disputations with the *Protestants* endeavour to prove the Articles of their Faith by Testimonies brought out of the *Fathers*; whereas the *Protestants* never go about to make good Their own Opinions, but onely to overthrow those of their Adversaries, by urging the *Fathers* Testimonies.

For seeing that they of the Church of *Rome* maintain, that the *Church* neither hath, nor can Possibly erre in Points of Faith; and that Its Belief in Matters of Faith hath alwaies been the same; that it is at this day; it is sufficient for the *Protestant* to shew, by comparing the Doctrine of the Ancient *Fathers* with that of the Church of *Rome*, that there is great Difference betwixt them: neither doth this in any wise bind Them to believe through-
out

out whatsoever the Fathers believed ; it being Evident, according to Their *Hypothesis*, that there may have some Errors crept into their Belief ; though certainly not such, nor so gross ones, as have been since entertained by the Church in the Ages succeeding.

We shall conclude therefore, that the *Protestants* acknowledge not, neither in the Fathers, nor in their Writings, any so Absolute Authority, as renders them Capable of being received by Us, as our Supreme Judges in Matters of Religion, and such, from whom no Appeal can be made.

Whence it will follow, that although the Fathers might Really perhaps have such an Authority; yet notwithstanding could not Their Definitive Sentence put an end to any of our Controversies; and therefore it concerns the Church of *Rome* to have recourse to some other way of Proof, if they intend to prevail upon their *Adversaries* to receive the afore-said Articles.

But what will you say now, if we make it appear to you, that the Church of *Rome* it self doth not allow that the Fathers have any such Authority ? I suppose, that if we are able to do this, there is no man so Perverse, as not to confesse, that this Proceeding of theirs, in grounding their Articles of Faith upon the sayings of the Fathers, is not onely very Insufficient, but very Inconvenient also. For, how can it ever be indured, that a Man that would perswade you to the belief of any thing, should for that purpose make use of the Testimony of some such Persons, as neither you, nor himself believe to be Infallibly True, and so fit to be trusted ? Let us now therefore see, whether those of the Church of *Rome* really have themselves so great an Esteem of the Fathers, as they would be thought to have, by this their proceeding, or not.

Certainly severall of the Learned of that party, have upon divers occasions let us see plain enough, that They make no more account of them, then the *Protestants* do. For, whereas These require, that the Authority of the
Fathers

Fathers be grounded upon that of the *Scripture*; and therefore receive nothing that They deliver, as Infallibly True, unlesse it be grounded upon the *Scripture*, passing by, or rejecting whatsoever They propose either besides, or Contrary to the sense of the *Scripture*: the other in like manner wil have the Judgment of the *Fathers* depend upon that of the *Church* in Present Being in every Age; & approve, passe by, or condemn all such opinions of theirs, as the *Church* either approveth, passeth by, or condemneth. So that although they differ in this, that the One attributeth the *Supremacy* to the *Scripture*, and the other to the Present *Church* of Their Age; yet notwithstanding they both agree in this, that both the one, and the other of them equally deprive the *Fathers* of the same. In so much that they both of them spend their time unprofitably enough, whilst they trouble themselves to plead their Cause before this *Inferior Court*, where the Wrangling, and Cunning Tricks of the Law have so much place; where the *Judgments* are hard to be got, and yet harder to be understood; and, when all is done, are not Supreme; but are such as both Parties believe they may Lawfully Appeal from: whereas they might, if they pleased, let alone these Troublesome, and Uselesse Beatings about, and come at the first before the *Supreme Tribunal*; whether it be that of the *Scriptures*, or of the *Church*; where the *Suites* are not so long, and where the *Subtilty* of *Pleading* is of much lesse use; where the *Sentences* also are more Clear and Expresse, and (which is the Chiefest thing of all) such as we cannot appeal from: But that we may not be thought to impose this Opinion upon the *Church* of *Rome* unjustly, let us hear them speak themselves.

Thom. de Vio Cardinal Cajetan, in his Preface upon the Five Books
 Card. Cajet. of *Moses*, speaking of his own Annotations upon the
 pref. in Pen- same, saith thus. If you chance there to meet with any
 tat. Si quan- New Exposition, which is agreeable to the Text, and not
 do occurrit
 novus sensus Contrary either to the *Scriptures*, or to the Doctrine of
 the

the Church, although perhaps it differ from that which is given by the whole Current of the Holy Doctors; I shall desire the Readers, that they would not too hastily reject it, but that they would rather censure Charitably of it. Let them remember to give every man his due: there are none but the Authors of the Holy Scriptures alone, to whom we attribute such Authority, as that we ought to believe whatsoever they have Written. But as for others, (saith St. Augustine) of how great Sanctity, and Learning so ever they may have been, I so read them, as that I do not believe what they have written, because They have written it.

Let no man therefore reject a new Exposition of any Passage of Scripture, under pretence that it is Contrary to what the Ancient Doctors gave; but let him rather diligently examine the Text, and the Contexture of the Scripture; and if he find that it accordeth well therewith, let him praise God, who hath not tyed the Exposition of the Scriptures, to the sense of the Ancient Doctors, but to the whole Scripture it self, under the censure of the Catholick Church. Melchior Canus, Bishop of the Canary Islands, having before declared himself, according as St. Augustine hath done, saying, that the Holy Scriptures only are exempt from all error, he further adds: † But there is no Man, how Holy, or Learned so ever he be, that is not sometimes deceived, that doth not sometimes dote, that doth not sometimes slip. And then alleaging some of those examples, which we have before produced, he concludes in these words: * Let us therefore read the Ancient Fathers with all

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textui consonus, nec à sacra Scripturâ, nec ab Ecclesiæ doctrina dissonus, quamvis à torrente Doctorum sacrorum alienus, rogo Lectores omnes ne præcípites detestentur, sed equos se præbeant censores. Meminerint ius suum unicuique tribuere: solis sacre Scripturæ auctoribus reservata auctoritas hæc est, ut idcirco sic credamus esse; quia ipsi ita scripserunt. Alios autem (inquit Augustinus) ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque præpollent, non ideo credam sic esse, quia ipsi ita scripserunt. Nullus itaque detestetur novum S. Scripturæ sensum, ex hoc quod dissonat priscis Doctoribus; sed scrutetur perspicacius textum et contextum Scripturæ, et si quadrare invenerit, laudet Deum, qui non alligavit expositionem S. Scripturarum priscorum Doctorum sensibus, sed Scripturæ ipsi integræ sub Catholice Ecclesiæ censura.

† Melch. Can. loc. Theol. l. 7. c. 3. num. 4. Cæterequi nemo quantumvis eruditus, et sanctus, non interdum allucinatur, non alicubi cæcutit, non quandoque labitur.

Id. ibid. Legendum itaque à nobis Patres veteres cum reverentiâ quidem, sed ut homines, cum delectu atque judicio.

due

due Reverence, yet notwithstanding, for as much as they were but Men, with Choyce, and Iudgment.

And a little after he saith, *That the Fathers sometimes fail, and bring forth Monsters, besides the Ordinary Course of Nature.* And in the same place he saith,

Ibid. num 7. Reliqui vero scriptores sancti inferiores et humani sunt, deficientque interdum, ac monstrum quandoque patiunt, præter convenientem Ordinem, institutumque Naturæ.

a Ambros. Catharin lib. 4. Annot. in Cajet. p. 273. Verissimum ergo est, quod sanctorum dicta, vel scripta in se non sunt firmæ auctoritatis, ut in singulis teneamur illis præbere assensum.

that *To follow the Ancients in all things, and to tread every Where in Their steps, as little Children use to do in Plays, is nothing else but to disparage our own Parts, and to confess our selves to have neither Iudgment, nor Skill enough, for the searching into the Truth.* No, let us follow Them as Guides, but not as Masters. *a It is very true (saith Ambrosius Catharinus in like manner) that the Sayings, and Writings of the Fathers have not of themselves any so Absolute Authority, as that we are bound to assent to them in all things.* The

Jesuites also themselves inform us sufficiently in many places, that They do not reckon themselves so tyed to follow the Judgment of the Fathers in all things, as people may imagine.

b Petav. in Epiph. p. 205. Nos cā, quā par est, moderatione in divinorum hominum, sed hominum, errores, ac lapsus non tam inquirimus, quam oblatos ultio, ac vel invitis occurrentes, ne cui fraudi sint, patefacimus: tueri autem, ac defendere nihilo magis quam eorum vitia, si quæ fuerint, imitari debemus.

c Id. in Epiph. p. 244. Quantum multa sunt a sanctissimis Patribus, præsertim à Chrysostomo in Homiliis aspersa, quæ si ad exactæ veritatis regulam accommodare volueris, boni sensus inania videbuntur.

Petavius in his Annotations upon *Epiphanius* confesseth freely, *b That the Fathers were Men; that They had their Failings; and, that we ought not Maliciously to search after their Errors, that we may lay them open to the World; but that we may take the liberty to note them, when ever they come in our way, to the end that none be deceived by them: and, that we ought no more to maintain, or defend their Errors, then we ought to imitate their Vices, if at least they had any: and again, c That many things have Slipped from them, which, if they were examined according to the Exact Rule of Truth, could not*

be reconciled to any good sense : and, that Himself hath observed, *d That they are out sufficiently, whensoever they speak of such Points of Faith, as were not at all* d Id. ibid. p. 285. *called in question in Their time.* And to say the truth,

He often rejects both Their Opinions, and Their Expositions also ; and sometimes very Vncivilly too, as we have touched *e* before, speaking of his Notes upon *Epiphanius. e Supr. c. 4.*

And in one place, the Authority of some of the Fathers, which contradicted His Opinion, touching the Exposition of a certain Passage in *St. Luke*, being objected against Him, He never taking the least notice at all of Their Testimonies, answers ;

f That we ought to Interpret, and expound the Fathers by St. Luke, rather then St. Luke by Them ; because that They cannot herein say any thing, but what they have received from St. Luke :

Which, in my Judgment, was very Judiciously spoken of him ; and besides, Exactly agrees with what *St. Augustine* said before, and which may very well be applied to the greatest part of our Differences ; in all which the *Fathers*

could not know any thing, save what they learnt out of the *Scriptures* : so that Their Testimonies, in these Cases, ought according to the Opinion of this Learned Jesuite, to be expounded, and interpreted by the *Scriptures*, and not the *Scriptures* by Them. And this is the Language of all the rest of them.

Maldonate, who was a most bitter enemy of the *Protestants*, as ever there was any, having delivered the Judgment of some of the Fathers, who were of Opinion that the sons of *Zebedee* answered not so rightly,

when being asked by our Saviour, whether or no they were able to drink of His Cup, and to be Baptized with the Baptisme that He was Baptized with, they said unto Him, that They were able ; adds, *g That for his part, He believes that they answered well.* And in another place, expounding the 2 Verse of the 19 Chapter of *St. Matthew*, g Maldonat. in Matth. 20. 22. Malo ego credere, nec temere, nec inscienter, sed amanter et verè respondisse, &c.

having first brought in the Interpretations of divers, and indeed in a manner of all the Fathers, he saies at last,

b Id. in Mat. 19. 11. Quam interpretationem adduci non possum ut si quor, &c.

b That He could not be perswaded to understand the place, as They did.

And here you are to note by the way, that the meaning of that place is still controverted at this day.

How then can this man conceive, that the Protestants should think themselves bound necessarily to follow the Judgment of this *Major part* of the Fathers, which themselves make so light of? In another place, where he hath occasion to speak of those words of our Saviour, which are at this day in debate amongst us, *The Gates of Hell shall not prevail against It.* He is yet much more

i Id. in Matth. 16. 18. Quorum verborum sensus non videtur mihi esse, quem omnes, preter Hilarium, quos legisse memini, auctores putant.

k Id. in Matth. 11. 11. Habet ex multis opinionibus quam eligat lector; sed si meam quoque sententiam avertit audire, liberè fatebor, in nulla prorsus earum meum qualecunque judicium acquiescere.

l. Id. in Joh. 6. vers. 44. Ammonius, Cyrillus, Theophylactus, & Euthymius, respondent, non omnes trahi, quia non omnes digni sunt: quod nimis affine est Pelagiorum errori.

m Salmer. in ep. ad. Rom. disput. 51. p. 468. Tertio. argumenta petunt à Doctorum Antiquitate, cui semper major honor est habitus, quam novitatibus. Respondetur, quamlibet ætatem Antiquitati semper detulisse, &c. sed illud offerimus quò juniores, cò perspicaciores esse Doctores.

down-right, and saies, *i The sense of these words is not rightly given by any Author, that I can remember, except St. Hilary.* So likewise upon the 11 Chapter of St. Matthew, vers. 11. where it is said, *The Least in the Kingdome of Heaven is greater then John Baptist*: *k The Opinions of the Fathers upon this passage (saith He) are very different; and to speak my mind freely, none of them all pleaseth mee.*

In like manner upon the Sixt Chapter of St. Iohn; *l Ammonius, (saith He) St. Cyrill, Theophylact, and Euthymius answer, that all are not drawn, because all are not worthy. But this comes to veer to Pelagianisme.* Salmeron, a famous Jesuite saies thus: *m Our Adversaries bring Arguments from the Antiquity of the Fathers; which I confess hath always been of more Esteem, then Novelities.*

I answer, That every Age hath yielded unto Antiquity, &c. But yet We must take liberty to say, that the Later the Doctors are,

the more quick-sighted they are. And again, *n* Against all this great Multitude, which they bring against Us, we answer, (saith He) out of the word of God; *Thou shalt not follow a Multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou speak in a cause, to decline after Many, to wrest judgment.* Michael Medina, disputing at the Councell of Trent, touching the superiority of a Bishop above a Priest; the Authority of St. Hierome, and of St. Augustine being produced against him, who both held, that the Difference betwixt them was not of Divine, but only of Positive, and Ecclesiasticall Right, o answers o *Pietr. Soa.* before the whole Congregation, *That it is no Marvell,* *vox Pel. hist.* that They, and some others also of the Fathers fell into this *del. Concil. Tri-* Heresie; this point being not as then clearly determined of. *dent. l. 7. p. 570.*

And that no man may doubt of the Honesty of the Historian, who relateth this, do but hear Bellarmine, who testifieth; *p* That Medina assureth us, that St. Hierome was in this Point of Arianus his opinion; and, that not only He but also St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, Sedulius, Primasius, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Oecumenius, and Theophylact maintained all of them the same Heresie.

We need not bring in here any more Examples: do but read their Commentaries, their Disputations, and their other Discourses, and you will find them almost in every page, either rejecting, or correcting the Fathers. But I must not pass by the Testimony of Cornelius Mussus, Bishop of Bitonto, who indeed is more Ingenuous, and more Clear than all the rest.

† O Rome (saith He) to whom shall we go for Divine Counsels, unless to those persons to whose trust the Dispensation of the Divine Mysteries hath been Committed. We are therefore to hear Him, who is to us instead of

n *ibid. col. 1.* Denique contra hanc quam objectant multitudinem, respondemus ex verbo Dei; *Exod. 23.* In judicio plurimorum non quiesces sententia, ut à vero devies.

o *Pietr. Soa.* answers o *Pietr. Soa.* before the whole Congregation, *That it is no Marvell,* *vox Pel. hist.* that They, and some others also of the Fathers fell into this *del. Concil. Tri-* Heresie; this point being not as then clearly determined of. *dent. l. 7. p. 570.*

p Bellarm. de Cler. l. 1. cap. 15. Michael Medina in lib. 1. de sac. hom. orig. et contin. c. 5. affirmat St. Hieronymum idem omnino cum Arianis sensisse: neque solum Hieronymum in ea hæresi fuisse, sed etiam Ambrosium, Augustinum, Sedulium, Primasium, Theodoretum, Oecumenium, et Theophylactum.

† *Corn. Muss. Episcop. Bitont. in ep. ad Rom. c. 14. p. 606.* A quo, Roma, quaerenda sunt divina Consilia, nisi ab illis, quibus myste-

God,

reriorum Dei dispensatio credita est: Quem ergo pro Deo habemus, in his quæ Dei sunt, quicquid ipse dixerit tanquam Deum audire debemus. Ego (ut ingenuè fatear) plus uni summo Pontifici crederem in his, quæ fidei mysteria tangunt, quam mille Augustinis, Hieronymis, Gregoriis; ne dicam Richardis, Scotis, Gulielmis. Credo enim, & scio, quod summus Pontifex, in his quæ fidei sunt, errare non potest; quoniam auctoritas determinandi quæ ad fidem spectant, in Pontifice refidet.

God, in things that concern God, as God himself. Certainly, for my own part (that I may speak my mind freely) in things that belong to the Mysteries of Faith, I had rather believe One single Pope, then a Thousand Augustines, Hieromes, or Gregories, that I may not speak of Richards, Scotusses, and Williams. For, I believe, and know, that the Pope cannot Erre, in matters of Faith, because that the Authority, and right of determining all such things, as are at all Points of Faith, resides in the Pope. This Passage may seem to some, to be both a very Bold, and a very Indiscreet one: but yet whosoever shall but examine the thing Seriously, and as it is in it self, and not as it is in its Outward appearances onely,

which are contrived for the most part onely to amuse the simpler sort of people, I am Confident he will find, that this Authour hath both most Ingenuosly, and most Truly given the world an account, what Esteem the Church of Rome hath of the Fathers. For, seeing that these men maintain that the Pope is *Infallible*; and they confesse withal that the Fathers may have erred: who seeth not, that they set the Pope very much above the Fathers? Neither may it be here replied, that They do not all of them hold, that the Pope is *Infallible*: For, besides that those among them, who do contradict this Opinion, are both the least, & the least Considerable part also of the Church of Rome; these very men attribute to the Present Church in being, in every Age, this Right of *Infallibility*, which they will not allow the Pope: insomuch that a *Council*, now called together, is, according to Their Account, of much greater Authority then the Ancient Fathers. So that there is no more Difference at all, betwixt These men and the fore-mentioned Italian Bishop, save onely that whereas They will have the Authority of the Ancient Fathers to submit to the whole Body of *Modern Bishops* assembled

assembled in a General *Council*; He will have their Authority to be lesse, then that of a single *Pope* alone. All that can be found fault with in that Speech of His, is perhaps that his Hyperbolical way of Expression, of a *Thousand Augustines, Hieromes, and Gregories*; all which joyned together, He in too disdainful a manner, casts down beneath the feet of One single *Pope*. But this height of Expression may be somewhat excused in him, considering that such Excesses as these, are very Ordinary with all High, and Free Spirited Persons.

But the Practise of the Church of *Rome* it self will be able to inform us more Truly, and clearly, what esteem They have of *Antiquity*. For, if we ought to stand to the *Fathers*, and not to depart from any thing that They have Authorised; nor to Ordain any thing, which They were Ignorant of; how comes it to passe, that we at this day see so many several Observations, and Customes, which were observed by the Ancients, now quite laid aside? And whence is it, that we find in Antiquity no mention at all of many things, which are now in great Request amongst Us? There are as it were Three Principal Parts in Religion; namely, Points of *Belief*, of *Ceremony*, and of *Discipline*. We shall run them over Lightly all Three, and so far as is Necessary only for our present purpose; that so we may let the world see, that in every one of these Three Parts They have both abolished, and established very many things, expressly against the Authority of the *Ancients*.

As for the First of these, we have formerly given the Reader some *Tasts* onely, in the Preceding Chapters. For we have seen, that the Opinion of the Greatest Part of the *Ancient Church*, touching the *State* of the *Soul*, till the time of the Resurrection, which besides is at this day also maintained by the *Greek Church*, was condemned, not much above Two Hundred years since, by the Church of *Rome*, at the Council of *Florence*; and a quite Contrary Belief there established, as an Article of the Christian Faith.

We

We have seen besides, that the Opinion of the Fathes of the Primitive Church, and even down as far as to the end of the Sixth Century after our Saviour Christ, and afterward, was, that the *Eucharist* was as Necessary to Salvation, as *Baptisme*; and that Consequently it was therefore to be administred to *Little Children*. And yet for all this, the Council of † *Trent* hath condemned this

† *Concil. Trident. Sess. 21.*

Can. Si quis dixerit, parvulis, antequam ad annos discretionis pervenerint, necessarium esse Eucharistiae communionem, anathema sit.

Opinion, as an Error in Faith; withal Anathematizing, by a Canon made Expresly for that purpose, all those who ever should maintain the same. *Let him be Accursed* (say They) *Whoever shall say, that the Eucharist is Necessary for little Children, before they are come to years of Discretion.* Onely, that the *Fathers* might not take offence hereat, as having so fearful an Affront put upon them; these men have endeavoured to perswade both Them, and others, that They never did believe that, which themselves have most Clearly, and in Expresse Terms protested that They did believe, as we have before made it appear: which is, to double the Injury upon Them, rather then to make them any Reparations for it; seeing that they deal with Them now, not as *Hereticks* onely, but as *Fools* also; whom a man may at pleasure perswade that they do not believe that, which They Really do believe.

We have abundantly heard out of *St. Hierome's* mouth, how that the Opinion of the *Chiliasts* was of old maintained, by several of the *Ancient Fathers*; which yet is now condemned as an Error in Faith. And indeed the number of these kinde of Differences in Opinions is almost Infinite.

a Epiphani. ep. ad Joh. Hierosol. T. 2. p. 217. c. 2. Cuius ergo hæc vidissem in Ecclesia Christi contra auctoritatem Scripturarum, hominis pendens imaginem, &c.

b Conc. Elib. vi. Can. 36.

It was accounted no Error in those daies to believe, that the Soul was derived from the *Father* down to the *Son*, according to the Ordinary Course of Generation: but this Opinion would now be accounted an Heresie.

a The Ancients held, That it would be an Opposing of the Authority of the Scriptures, if we should hang up the Picture of any Man in the Church: and *b* that we ought not to have any Pictures in our Churches, that *That* which

which we worship, and adore, be not painted upon a Wall. But now the Council of Trent hath ordained the quite Contrary, and saies : c *That we ought to have, and to keep, especially in our Churches, the Images of Christ, of the Virgin the Mother of God, and of the other Saints ; and that we are to yield unto them all due Honour, and Veneration.*

d All the *Ancient Fathers*, as far as we can learn out of their Writings, believed, that the Blessed *Virgin Mary* was conceived in Original Sin. If now the Fathers of the Council of Trent accounted Them to be the Judges of Faith ; what moved them then to imagine, that we ought not to believe, that They maintained any such Opinion ? For, having delivered their Definitive Sentence in a Decree there passed to this purpose, and declared, that this Sin, which hath spread it self over the whole Masse of Mankind, by Propagation, and not by Imitation, hath seized on every person in particular, e They at length conclude, *That their Intention is not to comprehend within this number the Blessed and Unspotted Virgin Mary, the Mother of God* : which words of theirs it is impossible so to expound, as that they shall not in plain terms give the Lie to All the Fathers.

For, if they mean by these Words, that the *Virgin Mary* was conceived without Sin, they flatly establish an Opinion which is Contradictory to that of the Fathers : which is the Grosest Manner of giving them the Lie that can be,

If they mean here no more then this, (which sense yet their words will hardly be ever made to bear,) that it is

T t

not

Placuit picturas in Ecclesia esse non cibere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.

c Concil. Trid. Sess. 25. Decreto de Invocat. &c. Sanctorum. Imagines porro Christi, Deiparæ Virginis, & aliorum Sanctorum, in templis præsertim habendas & retinendas, eisque debitum honorem & venerationem impertiendam,

d Ambros. August. Chrysost. &c. de quibus vide Melch. Canum de loc. Theolog. l. 7. num. 3.

e Conc. Trident. Sess. 5. Decreto de Pecc. Origin. Declarat tamen hæc ipsa Sancta Synodus, non esse suæ intentionis comprehendere in hoc Decreto, ubi de Peccato Originali agitur, B. & immaculatam Virginem Mariam, Dei genitricem.

not known as a Certain Truth, that the *Virgin Mary* was conceived in Sin; they however Honestly say in plain terms, that these Good Men affirmed, as True, that which is yet Doubtful, and maintained as *Certain*, that which was but *Problematical* onely, and *Questionable*.

The Council of *Laodicea*, which is inserted into the

f *Conc. Laod. Can. 59. &c.*
 Cod. Græc. Can. Eccles. Uni-
 vers. Can. 163.
 g *Melit. Sard. apud Euseb.*
Hist. Eccles. lib. 4. c. 27.
 h *Origen. apud Euseb. Hist.*
Eccles. l. 6. c. 26. & in Phi-
local. c. 3.
 i *Cyrl. Hieros. catech. 4.*
 k *Greg. Nazianz. Carm. 33.*
T. 2. p. 98.
 l *Hilar. Præfat. in Psal.*
fol. 2.
 m *Ephiphan. l. de ponder.*
& mens. T. 2. p. 162.
 n *Athan. ep. festal. T. 2. p.*
38, 39. & Synops. Script.
p. 58.
 o *Ruffin. Expos. Symb. inter*
opera Cypr. p. 552.
 p *Hæc. Prol. Galeato, &*
Prol. in lib. Salom. ad Paul.
& Eustoch. & Prol. in libr.
Sal. ad Chron. & Heliod. &
præfat. in Esdr.
 q *Conc. Trident. Sess. 4. De-*
cr. de Can. Script. Siquis
autem libros ipsos inte-
gros, cum omnibus suis
partibus, prout in Eccle-
sia Catholica legi consu-
everunt, & in veteri vul-
gata Latina Editione ha-
bentur, pro sacris & Ca-
nonicis non susceperit,
&c. Anathema esto.

Code of the Church Universal, f putteth
 not into the *Canon* of the Old Testament
 any more then Twenty two Books only;
 excluding by this means out of this num-
 ber the book of *Tobit*, of *Judith*, the Book
 of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the two
 Books of the *Maccabees*. g *Melito Bi-*
 shop of *Sardis*, h *Origen*, i *Cyrril of Hieru-*
salem, k *Gregory Nazianzene*, l *St. Hilary*,
 m and *Epiphanius*, do all of them the same.
 n *Athanasius*, o *Ruffinus*, and p *St. Hierome*
 expressly reject these very Books, and cast
 them out of the *Canon*. And yet notwith-
 standing the afore-said Council of q *Trent*
Anathematizeth all those, who Will not re-
ceive as Holy, and Canonical, all these Books,
with every part of the same, as they are wont
to be read in the Church, and as they are found
in the Old Latine Edition, commonly called
the Vulgar Translation. Where besides the
 Affront which they have offered to so many
 of the Ancient, and most Eminent among
 the Fathers, and indeed to the Whole Primi-
 tive Church it self, which received this *Canon*
 of *Laodicea* in amongst Its *Universal Rules*;
 they have also established a Position here,
 which was not till then so much as ever heard
 of in Christendome; Namely, that the Old
Vulgar Translation of the Bible is to be allow-
 ed of, as *Canonical*, and *Authentick*, in the
 Church of God.

The

The CL Fathers of the *r* Second General Council, & the DCXXX of the *s* Fourth, were all of them of opinion, that the Ancients had advanced the See of *Rome* above that of other Bishops, by reason of the Preeminence, & Temporal Greatness of the City of *Rome*, over other Cities : and for the same reason they also thought good to advance in like manner the Throne of the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to the same Height with the Former, by reason of the City where He resided being now arrived to the self-same Height of Dignity with *Rome* it self. I assure you, that for all this, He should now be *Anathema Maranatha*, whosoever should go about to derive the *Supremacy* of the *Pope* from any other Original, then from
TUES PETRUS: & PASCE OVES MEAS.

The Council of *Trent* Anathematizeth all those, whosoever shall deny, that *r* Bishops are a Higher Order, then *t* *Priests* : and yet *u* *St. Hierome*, and diverse others of the Fathers have Openly done the same.

We have already told you here before, that the Church of *Rome* long since excommunicated the *Greeks*, because They hold, that the *Holy Ghost* proceedeth not from the *Son*, but from the *Father* only.

And yet for all this *Theoderet*, who expressly also denied in terms, that the *Holy Ghost* proceeded from the *Son*, as we have shewed in the Preceeding Chapter, was received by the Ancient Church, and in particular by *Pope Leo* too, as a True Catholick Bishop, without requiring Him to declare himself any otherwise, or to give them any Satisfaction touching this Point.

And indeed, we might reckon up very many the like Differences, betwixt the *Romane*, and the *Ancient Church* : but these Examples we have here produced will suffice, to let the world see, how the Church of *Rome*

r Concil. Constant. I. Can. 3.
Τὸν ἄρτιον Κωνσταντινουπό-
λεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ
πρεσβεία τῆς πρώτης μετὰ
τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον,
διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτῷ ἰεὺς
Ῥωμιν.

s Conc. Chalced. Can. 28.
Καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι τῆς
πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ
τὸ βασιλεῦν τὴν πόλιν
ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως
ἀποδοῦναι τὰ πρεσβεία,
&c. τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ συγ-
κλήτῳ πρηνδεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ
τῶν ἴσων ἀπλανέσαν
πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ
βασιλίδι Ῥώμης, καὶ ἐν τοῖς
ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνῳ
μεγαλιώτερος ἀρχαί.

t Conc. Trid.
Sess. 23. cap.
4. & Con. 7.
Si quis dixe-
rit, Episcopos
non esse
Presbyteris
superiores,
&c. anathe-
ma sit.

c Hieron.
passim : vide
supra lib. 1. c.
ult.

holdeth, that the *Authority* of the Opinions of the *Ancients* ought to be accounted *Supream*.

We shall proceed in the next place to say something of the *Ceremonies* in the Christian Religion.

The first of all is *Baptisme*, which takes us out of *Natures Stock*, and engrafts us into *Jesus Christ*. Now it was a Custom heretofore in the Ancient Church, to plunge those they Baptized over head and eares in the wa-

a *Tertul. lib. de Cor. Mil. c. 3.*

b *Cypr. ep. 76. p. 211. ubi vide Pamel.*

c *Epiphan. Pan. Her. 30. p. 128*

d *Tertul. lib. de Cor. Mil. c. 3.*

e *lib. adu. Prax. c. 26.*

f *Hieron. Dial. advers. Lucifer. T. 2. p. 187. In lauacro ter caput mergitare.*

g *Cassand. l. de Bapt. Inf. p. 693.*

ter; as both a *Tertullian*, b *St. Cyprian*, c *Epiphanius*, and others testifie. And indeed they plunged them thus Three severall times; as the same d *Tertullian*, and e *St. Hierome* both inform us. And this is still the Practise both of the *Greek*, and of the *Russian Church*, even at this very day. And yet notwithstanding, this Custom, which is both so Ancient, and so Universall, is now abolished by the Church of *Rome*. And this

is the reason, that the f *Muscovites* say, that the *Latines* are not Rightly, and Duly Baptised, because They are not wont to use this Ancient Ceremony in their Baptisme, which, They say, is Expressely enjoyned Them, in the Canons of *Ioannes Metropolitanus*, whom they hold to have been a *Prophet*.

g *Greg. Mon. Protosync. in Apol. contr. ep. Marc. p.*

721. Tom. 4. Conc. gen.

h *ἐν ᾧ ἀναρχαὶ ἐστὶν καὶ τὸ*

ἰδὲ τρεῖς ἀναρχαὶ ἐστὶν, &c.

i *Tertull. & Hieron. ubi sup. Deinde egrossos lactis et mellis prægustare concordiam.*

j *Alvarez, in his Voyage to Ethiopia. A tutti quelli che battezano, così malchi, come femine, danno il sacramento in poca quantità, &c.*

And indeed g *Gregory*, the Greek Monk, who was notwithstanding a great Stickler for the *Union*, in the Councell of *Florence*, doth yet confesse, in his Answer to the Epistle of *Mark*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, that it is Necessary in *Baptisme*, that the persons to be baptised should be thrice dipped over Head and Eares in the water. At their Comming out of the Water, in the Ancient Church they gave them to eat *Milk*, and *Hony*, as the same h *Authors* witness; and immediately after this, they made them all partakers also of the blessed *Communion*, both

both great and small : whence the Custome still remains in *Ethiopia*, of administering the *Eucharist* to little Children, and making them take down a small quantity of it, as soon as ever they are Baptised.

What have these our so great Adorers of Antiquity now done with these *Ceremonies* ? Where is the *Milk*, or the *Hony*, or the *Eucharist*, which the Ancient Fathers were wont to administer to all, immediately after Baptisme ? Certainly these things, notwithstanding the Practise of the Ancients, have been now long since buried, and forgotten at *Rome*.

In Ancient times they often deferred the Baptising both of Infants, and of other people, as appears by the History of the Emperours *k Constantine the Great*, of *l Constantius*, of *m Theodosius*, of *Valentinian*, and of *Gratian*, *k Euseb. de vita Constant.*
in *n St. Ambrose*; and also by the Orations, and Homilies of *o Gregory Nazianzene*, and of *p St. Basil* upon this subject. *l. 4. Socrat. hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 37. m Id. l. 4. c. 6.*

And some of the Fathers too have been of Opinion, that it is fit it should be deferred ; as namely, *Tertullian*, *n Ambros. orat. de obit. Valentin. T. 3. p. 9.* as we have formerly noted of him.

How comes it to passe now, that there is not so much as any the least Trace, or footing of this Custome to be found at this day, in the Church of *Rome* ? *o Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 40. p Basil. homil. eis Gæwtio- μόν προτρέω- τικῇ.*

Nay, whence is it besides, that they will not so much as endure the very mention of it, and would abhor the man that should but go about to put it in practise ?

I shall here forbear to speak of the *Times* of administering *Baptisme* ; which was performed ordinarily in the Ancient Church but only upon the *Eves* of *Easter* day, and of *Whitsunday* : neither shall I say any thing of the Ceremony of the *Paschall Taper*, and the *Albes*, or white Vestments, *q* that the New-Baptised persons were used to wear all Easter week ; because that it may be thought perhaps, that these are too Light Circumstances : although to say the plain truth, if we are to regard the Authority of Men, and not the Reason of the Things themselves, *q Cassand. in hymno. p. 227. 328.*

63
selves, I do not at all see why all the whole Rites should not still be retained, as well as those *Exorcismes*, and Renouncings of the Devil, and the World, with all its Pompe and Vanities, which, in Imitation of Antiquity, are at this day, though very Improperly, acted by Them over little Infants, though but of a day old.

† *Cassand. in Liturg. c. 26.*

As for the *Eucharist*, † *Cassander* sheweth Clearly, that it was celebrated in the Ancient Church with *Bread* and *Wine*, offered by the *People*; and, that the Bread was first broken into severall pieces, and then Consecrated afterwards, and distributed among the Faithfull.

Notwithstanding the Contrary Use hath now prevailed; neither do they consecrate any Bread which is offered by the People, which was the Ancient Custome, but only little *Waser Cakes*, made round in the form of a

* *Apud Cassand. in Liturg. c. 26. p. 60.*

† *Cassand. in Liturg. p. 63. c. 28.*

* *Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 5. et can. 9.*

Lib. 1. c. 5.

Deneere; * which yet is very sharply reprov'd, in the Old Exposition of the *Ordo Romanus*, &c.

The same † *Cassander* also gives us an account at large, how that in Ancient times the *Canonick Prayer*, and the *Consecration* of the *Eucharist* was read out with a lowd voyce, and in such sort, as that the people might all of them be able to hear it, that so they might say *Amen* to it: whereas the * Priest now pronounceth it with a very Low voyce, so that none of the Congregation can tell what he saies; and hence it is, that this part of the Liturgy is called, *Secret*.

We have † formerly shewed, how that the Ancient Fathers concealed heretofore, as carefully as they could, the *Matter*, and the *Rites* used in the Celebration of this Holy Sacrament; which They never performed in presence either of the *Catechumeni*, or of Unbelievers. But now there is not any such care taken at all herein, but they celebrate the *Eucharist* Openly, and Publickly, even before *Jews*, *Pagans*, or *Mahometans*, without any more regard had to these Ancient Rules, then as if there had never been any such thing.

And as if the design of these men were to run crosse to
Antiquity

Antiquity in all things, whereas They concealed the Sacrament as much as they could, These shew it now Openly, and carry it publickly abroad every day through the Streets, and sometimes also go in Solemn Procession with it: which Custome of theirs is of very late standing among Christians, and which heretofore would have looked not onely very strangely, but would have been accounted rather Profane and Unlawful. And thus have the Customs, and Observations of the Ancient Fathers been quite laid aside, and other new ones, which They never heard of, instituted in their place,

The same *a Cassander* also proveth, that in Ancient times they never celebrated the Eucharist, save onely in the presence of those that were to Communicate; and, that all the rest withdrew. It is most clear, that *St. Chrysostome* very bitterly reproves those who would assist at the Celebration of the Eucharist, though not Communicate. *a Cassand. in Liturg. 55. c. 26.*

And indeed we at this day see in the *Ethiopick b Liturgy*, *Æthiop.* that the Gospel being read, the Deacon cries aloud: *All you, that will not receive the Sacrament, depart: Withdraw you, Catechumeni.* And again, after the Creed is sung, He saith to the people; *c Let them, that will not Commu-* *b Liturg. c ibid.*
cate, depart.

But now adaies, for the most part, none of those who assist at the Celebration, Communicate of it: they content themselves with Adoring the Sacrament onely, without partaking of it at all: whence you have this manner of speaking; *To hear Mass;* and, *To see Mass.* *d St.*

Chrysostome saith: *Whosoever shall stay here, and not participate of the Mysteries, behaves himself like an Impudent, Shameless person. I beseech you, (saith He) if any one, that were invited to a feast, should come and sit* *d Crysoſt. Homil. 3. in ep. ad Ephes. T. 3. p. 778. edit. Savillii. Πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μὴ μετέχων τῶν μυστηρίων ἀναίσχυός ἐστι, καὶ ὡς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀσυνέτος, καὶ ὡς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀσυνέτος, καὶ ὡς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀσυνέτος.*
ασιν κληθεῖς, τὸς χεῖρας νίψαιτο, καὶ κατακλιθῇ, καὶ ἐτοιμὸς γένοιτο πρὸς τὴν τραπέζαν, εἴτα μὴ μετέχῃ. ἔτι ὑβρίζει τὸν καλέσαντα; ἢ βελτίον τὸν τοῖστον μὴδὲ φάραγε νέεσθαι; ἔγω δὲ καὶ σὺ φάραγρονας, τὸν ὕμνον ἥσας μετὰ πάντων, ὁμολόγησας εἶναι πᾶν ἀξίων, τῷ μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἀναξίων ἀνακαχωρηκέναι· πῶς ἐμείνας, καὶ ὁ μετέχῃς τῆς τραπέζης;

down

down, after he hath washed his hands, and fitted himself to come to the Table, and at length should forbear to touch any of those dishes which are served in upon it, would not this be a very great affront to him who invited him? Had he not better to have forborne coming at all? It is the very same Case Here. Thou hast come, and hast Sung the Hymne; and, seeing thou hast not retired with those that were not worthy, hast thereby also professed thy self to be of the number of those who are Worthy. How comes it to pass, that seeing thou hast staid behind, thou dost not Communicate of this Table? and so on as followeth in *St. Chrysostome*. If any man should now preach this doctrine to the Romanists, would they not laugh at him, as a Ridiculous fellow? for as much as their Custome in this Particular is far different (as every one sees) from what it was heretofore in the Ancient Church.

It is as clear as the day, that all along in the Ancient Church, it was Lawful for any of the Faithful to take home with them the Holy Eucharist, which they might keep in any Private place, to take it afterwards by themselves alone, when ever they pleased.

Whence it is, that *Tertullian* adviseth those, who durst not communicate upon the daies appointed for that purpose, for fear of breaking their Fast, to keep the Body of

Christ by them. *a Receiving the Body of Christ*. (saith He) and keeping it by thee, both are preserved entire, both the Participation of the Sacrifice, and the discharge of thy Duty. And this appears also by a Story related by *St. Cyprian*, of a certain woman *b* who going about to open, with unworthy hands, a Coffer of hers, where the Eucharist was laid up; shee presently saw fire breaking forth thence; which so amazed her, as that she durst not touch it. And *St. Ambrose* also, a long while after *St. Cyprian*, testifieth sufficiently that this custome in his time continued

*a Tertul. lib. de orat. c. 4. Ac-
cepto corpore Domini, &
reservato, utrumque salvum
est, & participatio Sacrificii,
& exsecutio officii.*

*b Cyprian. l. de laps. p. 244.
Cum quædam arcam suam,
in qua Domini sanctum fu-
it, manibus indignis ten-
tasset aperire, igne inde sur-
gente deterrita est, ne au-
deret attingere.*

continued in the Church; where he tells the story of his brother *Satyrus*, who being upon the Sea, and in danger of Shipwrack, *c* And fearing withall least he should go out of the World without the Holy Mysteries, (for he was yet but of the number of the Catechumeni,) he made his addresses to those whom he knew to have been initiated, and desired of them to give him the Divine Sacrament of the Faithful: not that he might therewith satisfy the Curiosity of his Eyes, but that it might strengthen his Faith. And so having put it into a handkerchief and then tying the handkerchiefe about his neck, he threw himself into the Sea, and was saved. If Rome doth indeed bear so great respect to the Fathers, as they would make us believe, why hath it not then retained This Custome? Why then should that which was then so Ordinarily practised, be now in our daies so much disliked, as that they will not by any means *d* permit the Friars to keep the Eucharist in their Covent, nor yet in their Quire, nor in any other place, save onely the Publick Church. St. Ambrose informs us moreover, that in those times they made no scruple at all of carrying the Eucharist upon the Sea: which Custome of the Ancients is so much disliked by the Church of Rome in our daies, as that they hold it an Unlawful thing, either to Consecrate, or to carry the Sacrament ready consecrated, upon any water whatever, whether it be that of the Sea, or of Rivers.

This very Custome of the Ancients keeping the Sacrament by them, proves unto us very clearly, that the Faithful in those daies received the Sacrament with their Hands: which is also plainly enough intimated unto us by *Tertullian*; where inveighing against those among the Christians, who were Gravers, or Painters by their

V u

Profession;

c Ambros. de obit. Satyr. p. 19. T. 3. Non mortem metuens, sed ne vacuus mysteriorum exiret e vita, quos initiatos esse cognoverat, ab his divinum illud fidei Sacramentum poposcit, non ut curiosos oculos infereret arcanis, sed ut fidei suae consequeretur auxilium. Etenim ligari fecit in orario, & orarium involuit collo, atque ita se dejecit in mare.

d Conc. Trid. Sess. 25. de regul. & Mon. cap. 10.

a Tertul. lib. de Idol. cap. 7.
Eas manus admovere cor-
pori Domini, quæ Dæmo-
nii corpora conferunt.

b Cyprian. ep. 56. & lib. de
bono Patientie p. 316.

c Greg. Naz. Carm.
63. ἐδὲ χεῖρες ἐπίσταν,
ἐπὶ τῷ αἵματι ἐδωδὴν τεί-
ναι, &c.

d Synod. Quinis. Can.
101. ἡ τῆς τῆς ἐκφύτου
σώματός, &c.

Profession; he reproveth them, *a* for touching the Body of our Saviour with those very hands, which bestowed bodies on Devils: that is to say, with those hands, wherewith they made Idols. *b* St. Cyprian is clear in this point in diverse several places: *c* Gregory Nazianzene also testifieth the same in his LXIII Poëme. And in the Canons of the Council of Constantinople in Trullo, holden in the year of our Lord DC. LXXX. there is one, *d* which appointeth, That he, who is to Communicate, place his hands in the form

of a Cross, and so recieve the Communication of Grace: which had been the Practise, down from the time of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. And yet notwithstanding there is no man but knows, that this Custome hath no place now in the Church of Rome; where the communicants receive the Eucharist, not with their Hand, but with their Mouth, into which it is put by the Priest.

I would also very gladly be informed, by what Canon of the Ancient Church those Single Masses, which are now celebrated, and said every day, where none Communicates but the Priest alone who Consecrates the Host, were instituted, or permitted: and withal, how that Respect, which They pretend they bear to Antiquity, can stand with that Canon of the Council of Trent, which

e Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 6. &
Can. 8. Si quis dixerit Mis-
sas, in quibus solus Sacer-
dos sacramentaliter com-
municar, illicitas esse, ideo-
que abrogandas, anathema
sit.

f Cassan. Consult. ad Ferdin.
&c. p. 995. & in Liturg. p.
83. cap. 33.

saith: *e* Whosoever shall say, that those Mas-
ses, wherein the Priest alone Communicateth
Sacramentally, are Unlawful, and fit to be
abolished, let him be Accursed: seeing that
these kind of Masses were utterly unknown
to the Ancient Church, as *f* Cassander
proveth at large, in his Consultatio de Arti-
culis Religionis, written to the Emperour
Ferdinand.

But that, which most of all gives offence to those that are devoted to Antiquity, is, the Custome which the Church

Church of *Rome* hath introduced, and established, by the Expresse *Decrees*, and *Canons* of Two of Their General Councils, the one holden at *g Constance*, and the other at *g Conc. Constant. Sess. 13.* *h Trent*, of not allowing the *Communion of the Cup* to any, save onely to the *Priest* who Consecrates the same; *h Conc. Trid. Sess. 21. c. & 2. Can. 2* excluding by this means, first of all, all the *Laity*, and Secondly all the *Priests* also, and other of the *Clergy*, who had not the Consecrating of it : whereas the whole Ancient Church, for the space of Fourteen Hundred years, admitted both the one and the other to the Communion of the Holy and Blessed *Cup*, as well as to the Participation of the *Consecrated Bread*; as those of these two Councils themselves confess, in the *i Preface* to this *New Constitution*. And this is still the Practice also at this day, among all Christians throughout the World, both *Russians*, *k Greeks*, *Armenians*, *l Ethiopians*, *m Protestants*, and all others in General, except the *Latines* onely, who are of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. But besides that the Ancients permitted this Communion under *Both Kinds*, (as they use to speak,) it seemeth (which is yet much more,) that, unlesse it were in some Extraordinary Cases, they did not at all permit the Communicating under *One Kind onely*. For otherwise, why should Pope *n Leo* give This very thing, as a Mark, to distinguish the *Manichees* from the *Catholicks*? *When they sometimes are present at our Mysteries*, (saith He) *that so they may hide their Infidelity, they so order the matter in their participating of these Mysteries, as that they receive the Body of Christ into their unworthy mouth, but will not take into it one drop of the Blood of our Redemption*: and He further adds; *That he gives his Auditory this advertisement, that they*

i ibid. c. 2. Licet ab initio Christianæ Religionis non infrequens utriusque speciei usus fuisset. &c.

k Jerem. P. CN. Resp. 1. ad Witemb.

l Alvarez in his Voyage, ch. 11. Quanti si communicano col corpo, si comunicano anche col sangue.

m Confess. Eccles. Angl. art. 12.

n Leo I. P. R. Serm. 4. de Quadrage. p. 108. Cumque ad tegendam infidelitatem suam nostris audeant interesse mysteriis, ita in Sacramentorum communione se temperant, ut interdum tur'us lateant, ore indigno Christi corpus accipiunt, Sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ omnino haurire declinant. Quod idcirco vestram volumus scire sanctitatem, ut vobis hujusmodi homines & his manifestentur indiciis, &c.

may know these men by this Mark. Should this Pope now arise from his grave, and come into the world again, he would certainly believe, that all those, who adhere to His See, were turned *Manichees*, except the *Consecrating Priests* onely. How besides will you be able, without this *Hy-*

o *Gelas. Joh. & Maj. Episc. Decret. de Consecrat. dist. 2. c. 12.* Comperimus autem, quod quidam sumpta tantummodò corporis sacri portione, a calice sacri cruoris abstineant &c. quia divisio unius ejusdemque Mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire.

p *Act. Concil. Chalced. act. 16. p. 356. Tom. 2. Concil. Gen.* ὡς τοῖς τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα διαμεμενένον ἐνεύσειν ἐπιστάδην αὐτῶς, ὡς τὸ αἶμα-τὸ μὴ ἐνρισκομένης.

pothesis, to explain that Decree of Pope *o* *Gelasius*, which saith: *We are informed, that there are some, who having taken a small portion of the Sacred Body onely, forbear to partake of the Cup of the Consecrated Blood; doing this, as We hear, out of I know not what Superstitious Conceit wherewith they are possessed: We therefore will, that they either partake of the whole Sacrament, or else that they be wholly put back from communicating of either: forasmuch as there cannot, without very great Sacriledg, any division be made in One and the same Mystery.* And in the last place, what can you otherwise say to that Story which is related by the Accusers of *p* *Ibas*, Bishop of *Edeffa*; how that having one time made but a very scanty provision of Wine for the service of the Altar, which,

after it had been begun to be distributed about to the Communicants, began quickly to fail; *He perceiving this, beckned to those, who delivered about the Holy Body, that they should come back again; because there was no more left of the Blood of our Saviour?* For, what need was there of making them to give over their business, because there was no more *Wine*, if so be it was at that time Lawful, to distribute the *Bread* alone, without the other *Kind*, of *Wine*? If the Councils of *Trent*, and of *Constance* had accounted the Authority of the Fathers to have been *Supream*, how came it to pass that they abolished that, which had for so long time, and so Constantly been observed by Them? And, how again doth this other *Canon* of the Council of *Trent* suite with that Respect, which they

they pretend to bear toward *Antiquity*; where it is said, that. *q* *Whosoever shall say, that the Holy Catholick Church hath not been induced by Just Causes, and Reasons, to communicate to the Laity, and even to the Priests too, Who do not Consecrate, under the Kind of Bread only; or that it hath erred in this Point, let him be Accursed?* For, it seemeth to be no very easie matter, to be able to acquit

the *Modern Church*, without condemning the *Antient*, seeing their Practises have been Manifestly contradictory to each other; the *Modern Church* forbidding that, which the *Ancient* permitted; and the *Ancient Church* seeming to have expressly forbid that, which the *Modern* commandeth. How can you say, that the one had Just Reasons for what it did; unless you withall grant, that the other in doing the Contrary, had either no Reason at all, or else but very Unjust ones? seeing it is most Clear, that neither the World, nor the Times are any whit changed, within this Two Hundred years, from what they were before. For, it is impossible for any man to alledg any Reason, for the Practise of the *Moderns*, which should not have in like manner have obliged the *Ancients*: nor again to produce any Reason for the Contrary Practise of the *Ancients*, which doth not in like manner oblige the *Moderns*. So that of necessity, either the one or the other of them must needs have been Guilty either of *Errour*, or at least of *Negligence*, and of *Ignorance*. We may very well therefore conclude, that the Church of *Rome*, seeing it believes it self to be *Infalible*, Manifestly in this particular condemned the *Ancient Church*, as Guilty of *Ignorance*, or of *Negligence* at the least; which, in my Judgment, seems not so well to become those persons, who do nothing else but continually preach unto us the *Honour of Antiquity*. But here now will all the True Honourers of Antiquity have as good sport as can be. For, as for those *Reasons*, by which the Fathers

q *conc. Trid. Sess. 21. Can. 2.*
Si quis dixerit sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam non justis causis et rationibus adductam fuisse, ut laicos, atque etiam Clericos non conficientes sub panis tantummodò specie communicaret, aut in eo errasse, anathema sit.

of

*Inter Opera
Cassand. pag.
1019.*

of the Council of *Trent* were induced to make the afore-mentioned *Decree* ; how (will they say) may we be able to come to the Knowledge, whether they were *Iust*, or not ; seeing that They themselves produce none at all ? Whereas the Reasons, which moved the Ancients to do as they did ; and which you have set down *at large* in a certain Discourse Printed at *Paris*, at the end of *Cassanders Works*, are very Solid, and Clear, and, in my judgment, very full both of Wisdom, and of Charity. But we shall not need to enter any further into this Contestation : it is sufficient for my purpose, that the Church of *Rome*, in doing thus, hath manifestly abolished a very Ancient Custome in the Church.

Besides these Ceremonies, which were practised by the Fathers, in *Baptisme*, and in the *Eucharist*, they have laid by many other also, which have been heretofore in use in the Church. I shall not here speak of the *Fasting* upon *Saturdays*, which is observed by the Church of *Rome*, contrary to the Ancient practise of the whole Christian Church besides, who all accounted it unlawfull : because

*a August. T. 2. Ep. 86. ad Ca-
sulan. p. 74. & 75.*

*b Firmil. in ep. ad Cypr. quæ
est inter Epist. Cypr. 75. Eos
qui Romæ sunt non ea in
omnibus observare, quæ
sunt ab origine tradita, ut
frustra Apostolorum Aucto-
ritatem prætere, scire
quis etiam inde potest, &c.*

this Difference in Practise is as ancient, as a *St. Augustine's* time, and therefore ought not to be imputed to the *Modern* Church of *Rome*. I shall for the same reason also pass by that which *b Firmilianus* saith ; namely, how that in His time, that is to say, about Two Hundred and Fifty years after the Nativity of our Saviour Christ, *Those of Rome did not in all things observe, whatsoever had been delivered from the Beginning ; and, that they did in vain allege the Authority of the Apostles.* But this I shall desire the Reader to take notice of, that Anciently it was a Generall Custome throughout all Christendom, not to *Kneel*, neither upon the *Lords days*, nor upon any day betwixt *Easter day*, and *Whitsunday* : which Custome hath been generally abolished by the whole Church of *Rome* : and yet notwithstanding, whether you con- sider

sider the *Antiquity*, or whether you look upon the Authority of those who both practised this themselves, and also recommended it to our Observation, you will hardly find any more Venerable Custome then This. For, the

c Author of the *Questions and Answers*, attributed to *Iustin Martyr*, makes mention of this Custome, and withall gives the Reason, and Ground of it; and besides, proveth by a certain Passage, which he produceth out of *Irenaeus*, that it had its beginning in the *Apostolicall Times*. d *Tertullian* also speaks of it; and both e *Epiphanius*, and f *St. Hierome* reckon it among the *Institutions* of the Church: and, which is yet more then all this, the Sacred Generall Council of *Nice* authoriseth the same, by an Express *Canon*, made to that purpose. g For as much as there are some, say (these CCC.XVIII. Venerable Fathers) who Kneel upon the Lords Day, and upon the days of Pentecost; to the end that in all Parishes, or (as we now speak) *Dioceses*, there may be the same Order observed in all things, this Holy Synod ordaineth, that (on these days) they all pray Standing.

And this Ancient constitution was revived again, and explained, in the h Councell of Constantinople in *Trullo*, toward the end of the seventh Century; where it was Expressly forbidden to Kneel, during the space of those Twenty four houres that pass betwixt *Saturday Evening*, and *Sunday Evening*. Every body knows also, how that they have abrogated the *Fast*, that was wont to be observed upon the *Fourth day* of the week, that is to say, on *Wednesday*; which yet i *Ignat. Epist.* was the Practise of the Ancients, as appears by what we find in i *Ignatius*, in k *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria* and in MS. and

c *Pseud. Just. Q. & R.*

Quaest. 115. ἐν τῶν
ἀποστολικῶν δὲ χρόνων ἡ
τοιαύτη συνήθεια ἔλαβε
τὴν ἀρχὴν, καθὼς φησὶν
ὁ μακάριος Ἐπιφῶσιος ὁ
μάρτυς, καὶ ἐπίσκοπος
Λεβέντε, ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς
Πάχας λόγῳ, &c.

d *Tertul. l. de Coron. milit.*
cap. 3.

e *Epiph. in Panar. in conclus.*
operis.

f *Hieron. Dial. contr. Luci-*
fer. p. 187. T. 2.

g *Conc. Nic. Can. 20.*

Ἐπειδὴ τινὲς εἰσιν ἐν τῇ
κυριακῇ γόβῳ κλίνοντες, καὶ
ἐν ταῖς τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς
ἡμέραις, ὑπὲρ τῶν πάντων
ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμολογῶν
φυλάττειν, ἐς ὧτας ἑδοξε
τῇ ἀγίᾳ Συνόδῳ τὰς εὐ-
χαρίδας ἀποδιδόναι τοῦ θεοῦ.

h *Synod. Quinisex. Can.*
90.

l *Epiph. Panar. har.* 75. *Aerib. p. 910.* Τι-
 νι δὲ ὁ συμπεράνεται ἐν
 ὡασι καὶ μασι τῆς οἰκ-
 μῆνης ὅτι τέλει, καὶ πο-
 σεύετον ἡσεία ἐς τὴν ἐν
 τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς μαρτυρῶν;
 m *Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 7. p.*
3 17.
 n *Hieron. l. cont. Vigil. p. 163.*
De Vigilis et pernoctatio-
nibus Martyrum sæpe cele-
brandis, &c.
 o *Id. Com. 4. in Matth. p. 121.*
Vnde reor et Traditionem
Apostolicam permanisse,
ut in die Vigiliarum Paschæ
antè noctis dimidium popu-
los dimittere non liceat, ex-
pectantes adventum Chri-
sti.

and a Martyr, in l *Epiphanius*, m *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and others.

By the same Liberty have those *Vigills* been abolished, which were ordinarily kept by the Ancient Church, and both approved, and defended also by n *St. Hierome*, against *Vigilantius*, who found fault with them; though his Opinion hath now at length found more favour in the world, then *St. Hierom's*. The same o *Father* in another place delivers unto us, for an *Apostolicall Tradition*, that Custome, which they had in His time, of not suffering the people to depart out of the Church, upon *Easter Eve*, till Midnight wast past. What is now become of this Custome; which was not onely an Ancient one, but was derived also from the *Apostles* themselves, if you dare believe *St. Hierome*?

We are informed from severall Hands, that that Com-
 mand of *Abstaining from Blood*, and from *Things strang-*
led, was for a long time observed in the Church. And
 it appears evidently enough, that it was most Religiously
 kept in the Primitive times, both by the Testimony of
 p *Tertul. Apo-* p *Tertullian*, and of q *Eusebius*. And the r *Councell* of
 log. p. 38. *Constantinople in Trullo* excommunicates all those of the
 q *Euseb. hist.* *Laity*, and deposeth all those of the *Clergy*, that shall
 Eccles. 15. c. 2. offend herein. And s *Pamelius*, in his Notes upon *Ter-*
 r *Synod. Qui-* *tullians Apologeticks*, informs us, that it is not long since
 nise. Can. 7. the observation of this Custome was first laid aside among
 s *Pamel. in* *Christians*; it being not much above Four Hundred years,
 Apolog. Ter- since there was some Certain Penalties appointed for those,
 tull. num. 38. that should violate the same. And yet notwithstanding,
 for all Its *Antiquity*, and *Universality*, it is at length
 quite vanished; the Church of *Rome* having in very gen-
 tle wise, and by little and little laid it asleep; no man,
 that I know of, having taken the least notice either of the
 Time,

p *Tertul. Apo-*
 log. p. 38.
 q *Euseb. hist.*
 Eccles. 15. c. 2.
 r *Synod. Qui-*
 nise. Can. 7.
 s *Pamel. in*
 Apolog. Ter-
 tull. num. 38.

Time, when, or the Manner, how this was done : Only this we all see plain enough, that it is now quite out of Use.

The like may be said of that Custome of *Praying for the Saints Departed*, which was clearly the Practise of the Ancients. *† We pray* (saith Epiphanius) *for the Just, the Fathers, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, &c. that we may distinguish the Lord Jesus Christ from the order of Men, by that Honour which we pay unto Him.* We have also some of their Prayers to this purpose yet remaining ; as namely, in the Liturgy of *u St. James.* And in the *x Syriack Liturgy of St. Basil*, after they had mentioned the *Patriarchs, the Prophets, John Baptist, St. Stephen, the Virgin Mary*, and all the rest of the *Saints*, They at last added ; *We daily send up our prayers, and Supplications unto Thee for them.* And a little after ; *Lord, remember also* (saith the Priest) *all those, who are departed this life, and the Orthodox Bishops, who have made a Clear and Open Profession of the True Faith, from the Apostles, Peter, and James, to this day ; of Ignatius, Dionysius, &c.* And then He saith, with a Lowd voyce : *Remember also Lord, those who have persevered even to Blood, for the Word of a Good Fear.* So likewise in the Liturgy of *y St. Chrysostom* ; *We offer unto Thee this Reasonable Service for all those Who have departed in thy Faith, &c.* And yet notwithstanding the Church of *Rome* hath utterly abolished this Custome ; and, without all question, believes, that you could not do the Saints a greater Injury, then if you should now make any such Supplica-

X x

† Epiph. Pan. Har. 75. Aëti, p. 911. Καὶ γὰρ δικαίων πείθεσθαι τὴν μνήμην, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν, &c. ὑπὲρ δὲ δικαίων, καὶ πατέρων, καὶ πατριαρχῶν, καὶ ωσφρητῶν, καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν, καὶ μαρτύρων, καὶ ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων τε, καὶ ἀναχωρητῶν, καὶ πάντων τῶν ταγματῶν, ἵνα τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν ἀφοσιώσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τάξεως, διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστεως, καὶ σέβας αὐτοῦ ἀποδιδόναι, &c.

u Liturg. Jacob. p. 29. Edit. Par. An. 1560. apud. Guliel. Morel. Μνήστη Κύριε θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων, καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ὡς ἐμνήσθη, καὶ ὡς ἐκ ἐμνήσθη, ὁρθοδόξως, ἀπὸ Ἀβὲλ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας· αὐτὸς ἐκεί αὐτὸς ἀνάπαυσον, ἐν χάριτι ζώντων, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, &c.

x Liturg. Syriac. Basil.

y Liturg. Chrysost. ὅτι προσφέρω σοι τὴν λογικὴν τιμήν σου λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυομένων πατρῶν, πατέρων, πατριαρχῶν, ωσφρητῶν, &c. vide & Liturg. St. Marc. T. 2. Gr. Lat. Bibl. PP. p. 34. τῶν ἐν πίστει χριστῷ ἀφοσιωμένων, πατρῶν τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, Κύριε, (νοί.) &c. Mox : καὶ πάντων τῶν ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, δέσποτα, &c.

tions

2 Pont. Diaconus in vita Cypr. Judicio Dei, & plebis favore, ad officium Sacerdotii, & Episcopatus gradum adhuc neophytus, ut putabatur, novellus, electus est.

a Cyprian. ep. 52. p. 97. Factus est autem Cornelius Episcopus, de Dei & Christi ejus judicio, de Clericorum per omnia testimonia, de plebis, quæ tunc affluit suffragio, & de Sacerdotum antiquorum, & bonorum virorum Collegio.

b Id. ep. 68. p. 166. Quando ipsa (plebs) maximè habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. Quod & ipsum videmus de divina auctoritate descendere, ut Sacerdos plebe præsentē sub omnium oculis deligatur, & dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur.

Ibid. p. 166. Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina, & Apostolica observatione observandum est, & tenendum, quod apud nos quoque, & serè per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui Præpositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem provincie proximi quique conveniant, & Episcopus deligatur plebe præsentē, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, & uniuscujusque ætū de ejus conversatione perspexit.

tions for them. Those that are Curious, may observe many other the Like Differences, betwixt the *Ancients*, and the Church of *Rome*, in their *Customes* and *Ceremonies*;

Neither is there any whit lesse in their *Discipline*. One of the Cheifest of these Differences, and which is indeed the Original of a great part of the rest, is, in the *Elections*, and *Ordinations* of *Ecclesiastical Ministers*, which is the True Basis, and Groundwork of the *Discipline*, and and *Ministrie* of the Church. It is clear, that in the Primitive times they depended partly on the *People* and not wholly on the Clergy; but every Company of the Faithful, either Chose their own Pastors; or else had leave to consider, and to approve of those, that were proposed unto them for that purpose. 2 Pontius, a Deacon of the Church of *Carthage*, saith, that *St. Cyprian*, being yet a Neophyte, was elected to the charge of Pastor, and the Degree of Bishop, by the judgment of God, and the Favour of the People. *St. Cyprian* also telleth us the same, in several places. a In his LII Epistle, speaking of *Cornelius*, he saith, That he was made Bishop of *Rome*, by the judgment of God, and of His Christ, by the Testimony of the greatest part of the Clergy, by the Suffrage of the People who were there present, and by the Colledge of Pastors, or Ancient Bishops, all Good and Pious men. And in another place he saith, that b It is the People, in whom the power chiefly is, of choosing Worthy Prelates, or refusing the Unworthy. Which very thing (saith He) We see is derived from Divine Authority, that a Bishop is

to be chosen in the presence of all the People ; and is declared either *Worthy*, or *Unworthy*, by the *Judgment*, and *Testimony* of *All*. Therefore (saith He a little after) ought men diligently to retain, and observe, according to *Divine Tradition*. and *Apostolicall Custome*, that which is also observed by us, and in a manner by all other *Provinces*; namely, that for the due, and orderly Proceeding in all *Ordinations*, the *Neighbouring Bishops* of the same *Province* are to meet together at that place, where a *Bishop* is to be chosen; and the *Election* of the said *Bishop* is to be performed, in the presence of the *People* of that place, who fully know every mans life, and by their long conversation together, understand what their behaviour hath been. And hence it was, that *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Nicomedia*, finding fault with many things in the *Ordination* of *Athanasius*, reckoned this also among the rest, c that it had been performed without the *Consent* of the *People*. To which answer was made again, by the d Council of *Alexandria*, that the whole *People* of *Alexandria* had all with one voice desired Him for their *Bishop*, giving Him the largest *Testimonies* that could be, both for his *Piety*, and his *Fitness* for the undertaking that *Charge*. In like manner *Julius*, Bishop of *Rome*, among other faults which he found in the *Ordination* of *Gregory*, who had been made Bishop of *Alexandria*, adds, e That he had not been desired by the *People*.

And it appeareth cleer enough, both out of f *St. Hierome*, and by the *Acts* of the Councils of g *Constantinople*, and of h *Chalcedon*, and also by the i *Pontificale Romanum*, and severall other pieces, that this *Custome* continued a long time in the *Church*. But it is now above seven Hundred and Eighty years, since the *Church* of *Rome* ordained, in the *VIII Council*, (which notwithstanding hath been always unanimously, and constantly rejected by the *Eastern Church* to

e *Julius ap. Athan. Apol. 2.*
p. 748. 749.

μη ἀεικηδέντα παρὰ πρεσ-
βυτέρων, μη παρ' ἐπισκό-
πων, μη παρὰ λαῶν, &c.

f *Hieron. l. 1. adu. Jovin. p. 57.*
T. 2. et Com. 10. in *Ezech.*
p. 968. T. 4. et Com. in *Agg.*
p. 512. T. 5. et Com. 1. in *Ep. ad*
Gal. p. 271. T. 6.

g *Conc. Const. 1. in. Ep. ad Da-*
mas. p. 94. et 95. T. 1. Conc.
Gener.

h *Conc. Chalced. act 11. p. 375*

T. 2. Conc. Gen. & Ast. 16.
p. 430, &c.

i Pontific. Rom. in Ordinatio
Presbyter. fol. 38. vide supr.

l. 1. c. 4.

k Conc. VIII. Can. 22. T.

3. Conc. p. 282. Neminem
Laicorum principum, vel
potentum semet inferere
electioni vel promotioni
Patriarchæ, vel Metropolita-
næ, aut cujuscunque Episcopi,
&c. præsertim cum nullam
in talibus potestatem quen-
quam potestativorum, vel
cæterorum Laicorum ha-
bere conveniat, sed potius
silere, ac attendere sibi, us-
que quò regulariter a Col-
legio Ecclesiæ suscipiat fi-
nem electio futuri Pontifi-
cis.

this very day,) that the Promotions, and
Consecrations of Bishops should be per-
formed by the Election, and Order of the Col-
ledge of Bishops only; forbidding, upon
pain of Excommunication, all *Lay Persons*
whatsoever, even k *Princes* themselves, to
meddle in the Election, or Promotion of any
*Patriarch, Metropolitane, or any other Bi-
shop whatsoever*; declaring withall, that it is
not fit, that *Lay Persons* should have any thing
at all to do in these matters: it becoming them
rather to be quiet, and patiently to attend, till
such time as the Election of the Bishop that is
to be chosen be Regularly finished, by the Col-
ledge of Clergy men. And thus have they
by this one Canon-shot beaten down the
Authority of the Fathers, and of the Primi-
tive Church; who alwaies allowed to the

Faithful People some share in the Elections of their
Pastors: neither hath this Custome been able ever since
to lift up its head again; the People being (as every man
knowes) Now, more then ever, defrauded of this their
Right, and having not the least share in the Elections, not
of Popes, Primates, or Archbishops onely, but not so
much as of the meanest Bishop that is.

And as the People Anciently had their voice in the
Election of their Pastors; so Probably also they had the
like in all other Affaires of Importance, that hapned in
the Church. There hapning in St. Cyprians time a very
great Persecution, many, who had been forced to yield
by the cruelty of the Pagans, being afterwards touched
with a Sense of their Fault, desired to return to the
Church again: but yet to avoid the Shame, and the
Length, and Rigour of those Penances, which were
usually imposed upon all such Offenders, the greatest part
of them begged of their Confessours to be favourably
dealt withall, and corrupted their Priests, that so
they

they might be received again into the Communion of the Church, without undergoing *Canonick Penance*. *St. Cyprian*, who was a strict Observer of *Discipline*, wrote many things against this Abuse; by which it evidently appeareth, that the *People* had their Right also in the Hearing, and Judging of these Causes. For in his X

Epistle he saith, *I* that those Priests that had received any such Offenders Rashly, and Contrary to the *Discipline* of the Church, Should give an account of what they had done, to Himself, to the Confessors, and to the whole People. And in another place, writing to the People of Carthage. *m* When the Lord (saith He) shall have restored peace unto us all, and that we shall be all returned to the Church again, we shall then examine all these things, præsentibus vobis, & judicantibus, You also being present, and Judging of them.

And it is in this same *Epistle*, and touching this very Point, where he addeth that Passage, which we have before produced, in the Chapter touching the Corruption of the Writings of the Ancients. I desire them (saith He) that they would patiently bear our Council, &c. to the end that, when many of us Bishops shall have met together, we may examine the Letters and desires of the Blessed Martyrs, according to the *Discipline* of the Lord, and in the presence of the Confessors, and also according as you shall think fit. And hence it is, that in one of his former *Epistles* He protested to

his Clergy, *n* That from his first coming to his Bishoprick he had ever resolved to do nothing of his own head, without Their Advice, and the Approbation of his People. He that would yet be more fully satisfied in this particular, may read the *xiv. Epistle* of the same Father, and the *XXVIII.* touching the business of *Philumenus*, and *Fortunatus*, two Subdeacons; as also the *XL.* touching the

l *Cyprian. Ep. 10. p. 30.* Asturi et apud nos, et apud Confessores ipsos, et apud plebem universam causam sumam.

m *Id. Ep. 12. p. 33.* Cum pace nobis omnibus à Domino prius data, ad Ecclesiam regredi cæperimus, tunc examinabuntur singula, præsentibus et judicantibus vobis.

n *Cypr. ep. 6. p. 19.* Quando a primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro, & sine consensu plebis meæ, privata sententia gerere.

o *Ip. ep. 14. & 28. & 40. & 59. quæ Scripta est nomine LXVI. Episcoporum: & ep. 68. & in præfat. Concil. Carthag.*

the business of *Felicissimus*; and the LXVII. which he wrote to the *Clergy*, and *People* of *Spain* joyntly, commending them for having deposed their Bishops, who were guilty of hainous crimes. But now that no man may

p *Epist. quæ est inter Cypr. ep. 31.* Quanquam nobis in tam ingenti negotio placeat, quod & tu ipse tractasti prius, Ecclesiæ pacem sustinendam, deinde sic collatione Consiliorum cum Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis Confessoribus, pariter ac sanctis Laicis facta, lapsorum tractare rationem. q *Cypr. ep. 55. ad Cornel. p. 121.* Quanquam sciam frater charissime, pro mutuâ dilectione quam debemus & exhibemus invicem nobis, florentissimo illic Clero tecum præsentati, & sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi legere te semper litteras nostras; tamen nunc & admoneo & peto, ut quod alias sponte atque honorificè facis, etiam petente me facias, ut hac epistola mea lecta, &c.

think that this was the Practise of the Church of *Carthage* onely, I shall here take occasion to inform the Reader, that the *Clergy* of *Rome* also approved of this Resolution of His, of bringing to trial, so soon as they should be at rest, this whole business, touching those who had fallen, during the Persecution, in a full Assembly of the Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Confessors, together with those of the Laity, who had continued Constant, and had not yielded to Idolatry. And that which, in my judgment, is very well worth our Observation, is, that q *St. Cyprian* himself writing to *Cornelius*, Bishop of *Rome*, saith, that He doth not doubt but that, according to that Mutual Love which they ought, and payed to each other, he did alwaies read those Letters which he received from Him, to the most Flourishing *Clergy* of *Rome* that were his Assistants, and to the most Holy and most numerous People. Whence it appears, that at *Rome* also the People had their Vote, in the Managing of Ecclesiastical Affaires.

I shall not need here to add any more, to shew how much the Authority and example of the Ancients in this Particular are now slighted, and despised: it being evident enough to every man, that the People are not onely excluded from the Councils, and Consistories of the Bishops, but that besides, that man would now be taken for an Heretick, that should now but propose, or go about to restore any such thing. But I beseech you now, do but a little fancy to your selves an Archbishop, who writing to the Pope, should

should say unto him thus : *Most Dear Brother, I exhort you, and desire of you, that what you are wont Honourably to do of your own accord, you would now do it at my request :* namely that this my Epistle may be read to the Flourishing *Clergy*, that are your Assistants there; and also to the most Holy and most Numerous *People*. Should not the Writer, think you, of such a Letter as this be laught at, as a Senselesse, Foolish fellow ; if at least he scaped so, and met with no worse Usage? And yet notwithstanding, This is the very Request that *St. Cyprian* made to Pope *Cornelius*.

But as the *Bishops*, and the rest of the *Clergy* have deprived the *People* of all those Priviledges, which had been conferred upon them by Antiquity, as well in the *Election* of Prelates, as in other Ecclesiastical Affaires : in like manner is it most Evident, that the *Pope* hath engrossed into his own hands not onely this Booty, which They had rob'd the *People* of; but also in a manner all the rest of Their Authority and Power; as well that which They heretofore enjoyed, according to the Ancient *Canons*, and *Constitutions* of the *Church*; as that which They have since, by many Several Admirable means, by little and little acquired, in the space of some whole Centuries of years. All this is now quite vanished, I know not how, and swallowed up by *Rome*, in a very little time. The CCC. XVIII. Fathers of the Council of *Nice* ordained, † That every Bishop should be created by all the Bishops of that Province, if it were Possible; or at least by Three of them, if so be the whole number could not so Conveniently be brought together : Yet With this Proviso, that the Absent Bishops were consenting also to the said Ordination : and that the Power, and Authority in all such Actions should belong to the Metropolitan of each several Province. Which Ordinance of theirs is both very Agreeable to the Practise of the Preceding Ages; as appears by that LXVIII. Epistle of *St. Cyprian*, which we cited a little before : and was also observed for a long time

† Conc. Nic.
Can. 4. Ἐπί-
σκοποι πρε-
σβυτεῖς μάλιστα
ἅπασαν τὴν ἐκ-
κλησίαν ἐν
ἐπαρχίᾳ κα-
θίσταται, &c.

* *Conc. Const. I.*
in Ep. ad Da-
mas p. 94. T. I.
Conc. Gener.

time afterward, by the Ages following ; as you may perceive by the * Epistle of the Fathers of the I. Councell of *Constantinople* to Pope *Damasus* ; and also by the Discourse of those that sate *Presidents* at the Council of *Chalcedon*, touching the *Rights* of the Patriarch of *Constantinople* in His own *Diocesse*.

And yet notwithstanding all this, the whole world knows, and sees, what the Practise of the Church of *Rome* at this day is, and how that there is not at all left to the *Metropolitans*, and to their Councils, any True Power, or Authority, in the Ordinations of the Bishops within their own *Diocesses* ; but the whole Power, in this Case, dependeth upon the Church of *Rome*, and upon those whom it hath intrusted herein, either with their own liking, or otherwise. And indeed all Bishops are to make their *Acknowledgments of Tenure* to the *Pope* ; neither may they exercise their Functions, without His *Commission* ; which they shall not obtain neither, without first paying down their Money, and compounding for their *First-Fruits*, calling themselves also in their Titles thus ; *We N. Bishop of N. by the grace of God, and of the Apostolicall See* ; of which strange Custome, and Title, you shall not meet with the least Trace, or Footstep, throughout all the Records of Antiquity, not so much as any one of all that vast number of Bishops, whose subscriptions we have yet remaining, partly in the Councils, and partly in their own Books, and Histories, having ever thus stiled himself. And as for *Provinciall*, and *Diocesan Synods*, where Anciently all sorts of Ecclesiasticall Causes were heard, and determined ; as appeareth both by the *Canons* of the Councils, and also by those Examples that we have left us ; as in the History of *Arius*, and of *Eutyches*, who were both Anathematized ; the one in the Synod of *Alexandria*, and the other in that of *Constantinople* ; they dare not now meddle with any thing, except some small, petty Matters, being of no use in the Greater Causes, save only to enquire into them, and give in

a Conc. Trid.
Sess. 24. De-
cret. de ref. c. 5.
Minores cir-
minales Cau-
sæ Episcopo-
rum in Con-
cilio tantum
Provinciali
cognoscantur
et terminen-
tur, &c.

in their Informations at *Rome*. Neither may any, the Meanest Bishop that is, be Judged, in any Case of Importance, and which may be sufficient to Depose him, by any but the *Pope* of *Rome*: his *Metropolitan*, and his *Primate*, and the Synod of his *Province*, and that of his *Diocese*, (in the sense that the Ancients took this word,) having not all of them any Power at all in these Matters, unless it be by an *Extraordinary Delegation*; and having then only power to draw up the Business, and make it ready for Hearing, and so to send it to *Rome*: None but the *Pope* alone having power to give sentence in such Cases, *as it is expressly ordained by the Council of Trent*, I shall here passe by their taking away from the Bishops, contrary to the *Canons*, and Practise of Antiquity, all Jurisdiction, and power over a good part of the *Monasteries*, and other companies of *Religious* persons, both *Seculars* and *Regulars*, within their *Diocesses*; Their assuming wholly to themselves the Power of *Absolving*, and of *Dispensing* in severall Cases, which they call *Reserved Cases*: whereas in Ancient times this Authority belonged Equally to All Bishops; as also Their giving of *Indulgences*, and their proclaiming of *Jubilees*: a thing which was never heard of, in any of the First Ages of Christianity. And as for the *Discipline* which was Anciently observed in the Church towards *Penitentiaries*, whether in the punishing them for their offences, or else in the Receiving them again into the Communion of the Church, it is now wholly lost and vanished. We have now nothing left us, save only a bare *Idea*, and shadow of it, which we meet with in the Writings of the Ancients; as namely, in the *Canonick Epistles* of *Gregorius Neocæsareensis*, of *St. Basil*, and others, and in the Councils, both Generall, and Provinciall. Where are now all those severall *Degrees of Penance*, which were observed in the Ancient Church; where some Offenders were to *Bewail* their sins without the Church; some might *stand*, and *Hear* the word, among the *Catechumens*;

Y y

others

Ibid. Causæ
I criminales
graviore con-
tra Episcopos
&c. quæ de-
positione, aut
privatione
dignæ sunt, ab
ipso tantum
summo Ro-
mano Ponti-
fici cognos-
cantur, et ter-
minantur, &c.

others were to *Cast* themselves down at the Feet of the Faithfull : Some of them might partake of the *Prayers* only of the Church ; and others were at length received again into the Communion of their *Sacraments* also ? Where are those *Eight*, thole *Ten*, those *Twenty* years of *Penance*, which they sometimes imposed upon Offenders ? All this whole Course of *Penance*, some kinde of account whereof we meet with in the Writings of the Ancients, is now wholly swallowed up by *Auricular Confession*, wherein no part of the *Penance* appears at all to the world.

And as these Kinds of Punishments, which were most wholesome for the *Penitentiaries* have been quite abolished by them ; so have they on the other side introduced other kinds of *Penalties*, which are indeed very Beneficial, and Advantagious to the Temporall Estate of the Church of Rome, but are most pernicious for the Souls of Offenders ; such as are their *Interdictions*, when, for the offence (and that oftentimes too, rather a Pretended, then a True one,) of One, or two single Persons, or perhaps of a *Corperation*, They will Excommunicate a whole *State*, wherein there are perhaps many Millions of people ; depriving them of the benefit of Partaking of the Holy *Sacraments* ; which are the Means, by which the Grace, and the Life of *Iesus Christ* is communicated unto Poor Mortalls : an Example of which kind of Proceeding I remember to have been practised by Them, since My time, against the State of *Venice*. In what *Code* of the Ancient Church can you find, where any such strange kinde of Punishment was ever instituted, as that for the Offence of a Few, many Millions of Souls should be Damned ? How can you call that Power *Apostolicall*, that punisheth in this manner ; seeing that the *Apostolicall* Power was given for *Edification*, and not for Destruction ?

I would also very fain learn of any man, that could tell me, upon what *Canons* of the Ancient Church that
 Bloody

Bloody Discipline of the *Inquisition* is grounded ; where after They have got out of a poor soul, by crafty, subtle dealing, and many times also by such Barbarous, Inhumane usage, as would make a man tremble to read, ^{a Nicol. Eymeric. Director. Inquis. p. 2. c. 27. p. 127. et ibi Pegna. item p. 3. p. 512. b Pegna in Direct. Inquis. p. 3. q. 36. c Direct. Inquis. p. 3. modo 9. termin. process. p. 510. et ibi Pegna.} Confession of his being guilty of *Hereſie* ; instead of Instruction, They give him his sentence of death ; and so he is forthwith delivered over to the *Secular Magistrates* : to whom notwithstanding, in a plain Mockery both of God, and Men, ^a they give an Express Charge, that they do not put him to death. ^b Yet in case They fail of so doing, and if within six, or seven days after at the most, they do not burn him alive ; and all this without ever Hearing his Cause, or what his Offence is ; They themselves shall be prosecuted by Ecclesiasticall Censures, and shall be Excommunicated, Deposed, & deprived of all Dignities, both Ecclesiasticall, and Temporall. And, that which yet surpasseth all beliefe, is, that although the Person Questioned should confess his fault, and should express his hearty sorrow for the same, and should by way of satisfaction submit himself to the sharpest penance that could be ; yet notwithstanding should not the poor wretch escape death ; ^d if so be he be of the number of those, whom they call, *The Relapsed*. O most Inhumane Cruelty ! and worthy of the *Scythians*, & of the *Margaias* only ! but very ill becoming the Disciples of Him, who commanded his Apostle to pardon his brother, not seven times only, but seventy times seven : and as ill beſeeming those, who so highly boast of being the successors, and Inheritours of those Mild, & Tender-hearted Ancients, who taught, ^e That it is the part of Piety, not to Constrain, but to Perswade, according to our Saviours Example ; Who constrained no man, but left every man to his own Liberty, to follow Him, or not. And, that the

^a *Θεοσεβείας μὴ γὰρ ἴδιον μὴ ἀναγκάζειν, ἀλλὰ πείθειν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος αὐτὸς ἔβιασεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ παραιρέσει διδῶς ἐλεσε πασι μὴ, εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω με εἰλδεῖν &c.*

^b *Ibid. p. 830. Ὁ μὲν διαβολὴ ἐπεὶ μὴδὲν ἀληθές ἔχει, ἐν πελέκει καὶ λαξευθῆναι ἐπιβαίνων κατεάξει τὸς δυνάεις τῶν δεχομένων αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Σωτὴρ ἕτως ὅτι πείθει, ὡς διδάσκων μὴ, εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω με εἰλδεῖν, καὶ ὁ θέλων εἰναι με μαθητής. ἐρχόμενον δὲ πρὸς ἑκάστην, μὴ*

^c *βιάσασθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κρῖναι τε, καὶ λέγειν, ἀνοιξόν μοι, ἀδελφεῖ μου κύριε, καὶ ἀνοιγόντων μὲ εἰσερχέσθαι, ὁκισμάτων δὲ, καὶ πῶς θελόντων ἀμείνων, ἀναχωρεῖ. Οὐ γὰρ ξίφεσιν, ἢ βέλεσιν, ἢ διασφραγισμάτων, &c.*

vel, as he hath no Truth in him, comes With Axes, and with Hammers to break open the doores of those that must receive Him. But our Saviour is so Meek, as that his manner of teaching is, If any one will follow Me : and, He that will be My Disciple ; Neither doth he constrain any one, that He cometh unto, but rather standeth at the door of every one,

g Athan. Apol. i. de fuga
ua. p. 716. Ton. i. Πόθεν
ἐμαδον αὐτοὶ τὸ διακιν;
ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀγίων ἢ
ἀνείποιεν ἀπὸ δὲ τῆ δι-
αβολῆς τὸ αὐτὸς διεκί-
πται, &c. Καὶ τὸ μὲν
φευγὲν ὁ Κύριος πρὸς
ταῖς, καὶ οἱ ἄγιοι ἐφυγον
τὸ δὲ διακιν διαβολικὴν
ἐστὶ ἐπιχειρημα, καὶ κατὰ
πάντων αὐτὸς αἰτεῖται τὸ
b Id. contr. Arrian Or. i. T. i. p.
288. Οἱ ἄπο γράφοντες, ὡ-
σε τὸ τέλος τῶν χαρμά-
των αὐτῶν ἐξαισμον, καὶ
ἀλλὰς πτωχείας ἔχεν, τί
ἀν εἴη οἱ τοῖστοι; οἱ χει-
στάνων μὲν ἀλλόττει, δια-
βολὸς δὲ, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων δαι-
μόνων φίλοι.

i Hilar. l. Contr. Aux. p. 86.
At nunc pro dolor ! divi-
nam fidem suffragia terre-
na recommendant, inop-
que virtutis suæ Christus,
dum ambitio nomini suo
conciliatur, arguitur. Ter-
rer exiliis, & carceribus Ec-
clesia, credique sibi cogit,
quæ exiliis & carceribus
est credita. Pendet ad digna-
tionem Communicantium,
quæ persequentium est
consecrata terrore. Fugit
Sacerdotes, quæ fugatis
est Sacerdotibus propagata.
Diligi se gloriatur à mun-
do, quæ Christi esse non potuit, nisi eam mundus odisset.

and knocketh, saying ; Open to Me, my Sister, my Spouse ; and so entreteth, when any open unto Him : but if they delay, and will not open to Him, He then departeth. Because the Truth is not to be pressed with swords, and Arrows, nor with Soldiers, and Armed men, but by Perswasion, and Councell : who also so sharply reprehended the Arrians, for going about to establish, and maintain their Religion by Force ; saying, g Of Whom have they learnt to Persecute their Brethren ? Certainly they cannot say, that they have learnt it of the Saints : no, they have rather had the Diavel for their Tutor herein. And again ; Jesus Christ hath commanded us to fly, and the Saints have indeed fled sometimes : But Persecution is the Invention of the Diavel. And in another place they protest, that h, By that very course which the Arrians took, in Banishing (which yet is much less, then Bur-ning,) all those, who would not subscribe to their Decrees, they cleerly shewed themselves to be Contrary to all Christians, and to be the friends of the Diavel, and his Fiends. In like manner hath another of the Ancient Fathers exclaimed, against the Proceeding of these Arrians, who made use not only of the Terror of Persecution, but of the Enticements also of Worldly Riches, that so they might the more easily draw men over to their Belief. i But now alas ! (saith this Father,)

these

these are the suffrages, that recommend the Faith in God: Christ is now become weak, and void of Power, and Ambition gaines Credit to His Name. The Church terrifieth by Banishment, and Imprisonments, &c. She, that was consecrated by the Terror of her Persecutors, dependeth now upon the Dignity of those, who are of Her Communion. She, who hath been propagated by Banished Priests, now her self banisheth Priests. She boasteth now, that she is beloved of the World; who could not be Christs, unless the World hated her: Agreeable to what *k* another of them saith; namely, That the Church of Christ was founded, by shedding of Blood, and by suffering Reproaches rather, then by Reproaching others: and, that it hath grown up by persecutions, and hath been crowned by Martyrdoms. Another also of the chiefest among the Ancient Fathers reproached an *Arrian*, for having made use of the Sword, and Axe, in Ecclesiasticall matters. *l* Those whom he could not deceive by his Discourse, (saith He) he thought good to make use of his sword upon; uttering with his mouth, and writing with his hand Bloody Laws; and thinking that a Law can command mens Faith. And that you may not imagine, that He himself thought that Lawfull, which he found fault with in the *Arrians*, *m* he saies in another place that in a certain journey which He made into *Gallia*, He refused to communicate with those Bishops, who would have some certain Hereticks to be put to death. The Emperour *Marcianus* in like manner, who called together the Council of *Chalcedon*, & was a Prince that was highly commended for his Piety, solemnly protesteth that He had forced no

k Hieron. ep. 62. ad Theoph. T. 2. p. 274. Fundendo sanguinem, et patiundo magis quam faciendo contumelias, Christi fundata est Ecclesia, Persecutionibus crevit, Martyriis coronata est.

l Ambros. ep. 32. T. 3. 126. Qui (*Auxentius*) quos non potuerit sermone decipere, eos gladio putat esse feriendos; cruentas leges ordians, manu scribens; & putans, quod Lex fidei non possit hominibus imperare.

m Id. l. 2. 27. T. p. 106. Postea cum videret me abstinere ab Episcopis qui communicabant ei, vel qui aliquos devios, licet a fide, ad necem petebant, &c.

n Marcian. ep. ad Archimandr. & Mon. Ag. in Act. Conc. Chalced. T. 2 Conc. gen. p. 453. Καὶ ἡ ἐξὸς ἡμετέρας γαλιωότης εἶδεν τὸ σωόνιον ἀνδρῶν ἐπαχθῶν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν, ὥστε ἢ εὐοχεῖσθαι, ἢ σιωπεῖν, εἰ ἐβόλοιτο εἰς τὸ γὰρ ἀπὸ λαῖς, ἢ εἰς τινὰ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ὁδὸν ἐλκεῖν βεβόμεθα.

q Hujus ep. ad constantium, apud Alban. in ep. ad solit. vii. ag. T. i. p. 839. τί γὰρ τοῖς τοῖς γέγονε ἀδελφὰς καὶ συναγῶ; &c.

p Hilar. l. i. ad Const. fol. 84. Deus cognitionem sui docuit potius, quam exegit; & operationum Cœlestium admiratione præceptis suis concilians auctoritatem, coactam confitendi se aspernatus est voluntatem, &c. Deus Universitatis est; Obsequio non eget Necessario: Non requirit coactam confessionem.

q Ambros. Com. in Luc. l. 7. p. 99. Eos misit ad seminandam, fidem, qui non cogerent, sed docerent, nec vim potestatis exercerent, sed doctrinam humilitatis attollerent.

r Cyprian. ep. 62. p. 143. Tunc quidem gladio occidebantur, quando adhuc & Circumcisio carnalis manebat. Nunc autem, &c. Spirituali gladio superbi & contumaces necantur, dum de Ecclesia ejiciuntur.

s Girolamo, Catena nella vita di Pio V. p. 126.

ceeding in the Old Testament with that of the New: r Then (saith He) the Proud, and the Disobedient were cut off by the Fleishly Sword; Now they suffer by the Spiritual, being thrown out of the Church. Certainly then they still live, at this very day, under the Old Testament in Spain, and Italy, and all those other places, where the Inquisition is in force: and, I believe, he would find a very hard Task of it, that should take in hand to reconcile this Passage of St. Cyprian to that s Opinion of Pope Pius V.

V who

man to subscribe, or to assent to the Council of Chalcedon, against his will. For, (saith He) we will not draw any man into the way of Life by Violence, or by Threats. And indeed o Hosius, Bishop of Corduba, long before testified, that the most Catholick Emperour Constantus never compelled any man to be Orthodox. And this is the Course, which is approved of by all the Ancients. p God (saith St. Hilary) hath rather taught us the knowledge of Himself, then exacted it of us; and Authorising His Commandements, by the wonderfulness of His Heavenly Works, he hath refused to force us to confess His Name, &c. He is the God of the Whole world; He hath no need of a Compelled Obedience; He requireth not any Forced Confession. Which are the Reasons this Author brought, with some other the like, to dissuade the Emperour Constantius from using violence, and forcing the Consciences of Men.

St. Ambrose saith; q Christ sent his Apostles to plant the Faith; not that they should compel, but that they should instruct Men; not that they should exercise the force of Power, but that they should promote the Doctrine of Humility. And hence is that which St. Cyprian hath, comparing the manner of Pro-

V. who said, that Bishops might have their *Officers*, and *Executioners* of Justice, for the Causes that appertained to Their Jurisdiction; and might put Their Sentences in Execution against Offenders: and, that the Reason of Their having recourse upon all Occasions to the *Secular Powers*, was, not because the *Church* could not make use of Its own proper *Officers of Justice* in such Cases, but rather because It had no such; or if It had, they were so weak, and so few in number, as that for the suppressing, and punishing of Delinquents, It would however stand in need of the Assistance of the *Temporal Power*.

I shall shut up this Point with *Tertullian*, the most Ancient Authour of the Latine Church, whom *Pamelius* (as we have touched before) will needs have us believe to have been a Persecutor of Hereticks; who yet was a man, that would not allow a Christian so much as to draw a sword, neither in war against a Publick Enemy, nor yet in discharging the Office of a Magistrate upon Offenders; whom All Civil Laws whatsoever punish with Death.

Let us now therefore see what He saies, touching Religion. *a Consider* (saith He to the Pagans) *whether this be not to add to the Crime of Irreligion, to take away the Liberty of Religion, and to interdict a man the Choyce of his God, by not suffering him to worship, whom he would; but to Compel him to worship, whom he would not. There is none, no not among men, that takes pleasure in being served by any against their will. And some few Chapters afterward: b This is a thing* (saith He) *that seemeth very unjust, that Free Men should be constrained to do Sacrifice against their Will. For, in the performing of Service to God, a Willing Heart is required. And in another Book, but speaking of the same thing, He saith: c It is a Point of Humane*

a Tertull. Apolog. c. 24. p. 58. Videte enim ne & hoc ad irreligiositatis elogium concurrat, adimere libertatem religionis, & interdicere optionem divinitatis, ut non liceat mihi colere quem velim, sed cogar colere quem nolim. Nemo se ab invito coli veller, ne homo quidem.

b Id. Apolog. c. 28. p. 61. Quoniam autem facile iniquum videtur, liberos homines invitos urgeri ad Sacrificandum. Nam & alias divinæ rei faciendæ libens animus inducitur.

c Id. l. ad Scorpul. c. 2. Ta-

Right

ramen humani juris, & naturalis potestatis est, unicuique quod putaverit colere: nec alii abest, aut prodest alterius religio. Sed nec religionis est cogere religionē, quæ sponte suscipi debeat, non vi; cum & hostiæ ab animo libenti expostulentur.

Right, and a Natural Power that every man hath to worship that which he thinks fit. The Religion of another man neither hurteth, nor profiteth any one. Neither is it indeed the part of Religion, to compell Religion; which ought to be entertained willingly, and not by Force; forasmuch as sacrifices themselves are required only from willing Minds. Vpon

which passage of his *Pamelius* give us a Marvellous, Rare Gloss, saying; That we ought not indeed Directly to Compell men to our Religion, but yet we may punish them, if they will not change their opinion. Certainly He thinks it is no Compelling of a man, to force him to do a thing under Pain of Death. Let any man that can, reconcile the Practise of the *Inquisition*, and the Popes *Thunderbolts* against King *Henry VIII*, and his Daughter Queen *Elizabeth*, and against some of the Kings of *France* also, to this Constant opinion of all Antiquity.

Now after they have thus Boldly slighted the *Beliefes*, the *Ceremonies*, and the *Discipline* of the Ancients, by changing, and abolishing whatsoever they have thought good; with what face can they still cry up the Fathers, and alledg their Testimonies, and besides place them upon the Seat of Judicature, and make Them the Judges of our Differences? Or although they still do thus, who would not be ready here to bring against them those words of *Tertullian*, which He made use of in another

d Id. Apol. c. 6. p. 31. Nunc religiosissimi legum, et patrum institutorum protectores et ultores respondeant velim de sua fide, et honore, et obsequio erga majorum consulta, si a nullo disciverunt? si in nullo exorbitaverunt? si non necessaria et aptissima quæque Disciplinæ oblitteraverunt? Quoniam illæ leges abierunt, &c.

the like Case? d I would be very glad (saith He) that these Great, and most Religious Defenders, and Maintainers of the Laws and Customs of their Fathers, would answer me a little, touching their own faith, respect, and obedience, toward the constitutions of their Ancestours, whether they have not departed from, and forsaken some of them? whether they have not rased out those things, which were most Necessary, and most usefull in their Science?

ence? What is become of those Ancient Laws? &c. Where is the Religion? Where is the Reverence, which is due from you to your Ancestours? You have renounced your Fore-fathers, both in your Habit, Apparell, Manner of Life, Opinion, and in your very Speech also. You are always crying up Antiquity, yet every day your selves take up a New manner of Life. Whether therefore they of the Church of Rome have upon Just Grounds dealt thus with the Ancients or not; it serves my turn however to conclude, that by this their Proceeding they have given us a sufficient Testimony, that they do not account their Authority *Supream*, in Matters of Religion. And if so, what Reason have they to urge it for such, against the Protestants? Seeing They have weakned the Authority of so many of those Judgments, touching Points of Religion, which have been given by the Fathers, how can they expect that Their Authority should pass for Authentick in any One? Let us suppose for instance, that They held, that there was such a place as *Purgatory*. But by your favour, (will the Protestant say) if you have found Their Belief to be so Erroneous, touching the State of the Souls of Departed Saints, till the day of the Resurrection; why would you impose upon me a Necessity of subscribing to what They held, touching *Purgatory*? The Laws of Disputation ought to be Equall; and therefore if you, by examining this Opinion of the Fathers by Reason, and by the Scriptures, have found it to be Erroneous; Why will you not give us leave to try that other, touching *Purgatory*, by the same Touchstone? Certainly, should we but speak the Truth, it is the plainest Mocking of the world that can be, to cry out, as these Men do continually, *The Fathers, The Fathers*, and to write so many whole Volumes upon this subject, as They have done; after they have so dealt with them, as you have seen. And if it be here objected, that the Protestants themselves do also reject many of those Articles, which we have before set down; we answer, that this is nothing

1b.p.33. Ubi religio? ubi veneratio majoribus debita à vobis? Habitu, victu, instructu, sensu ipso denique sermone proavis renuntiastis: laudatis semper antiquitatem, et nove de die vivitis.

at all to the purpose ; for as much as They take the *Scriptures*, and not the *Fathers*, for the Rule of Their Faith ; neither do they press any man to receive any thing from the hands of the *Ancients*, unless it be grounded upon the *Word of God*. And if lastly you say, that the Authority of the *Fathers* hath no place, nor is at all considerable, in the Points before set down, because that the *Church* hath otherwise determined touching the same : this is clearly to grant us that which we would have ; Namely, that the *Authority of the Fathers* is not *Supream*. And as for the *Church*, that is to say, how far the Authority of it extends in These Things ; this is a New Question to be disputed of ; which I shall not meddle withall at this time. Only thus much I shall say, that what Authority soever you allow it, whether Little, or Much, you will still find, that it will very hardly be able to do any thing, touching the Decision of our present Controversies ; for as much as you can never be able to make any use, or benefit of this Position, till such time as you are assured, both *What*, and *Where* the *Church* is ; seeing that the *Protestants* stiffly deny, that it is That, which appears at this day at *Rome* ; and the greatest Difficultie of all consisting in the Demonstrating this unto them. For, if they did but once believe, that the *Church of Rome* was the *True Church*, They would immediately joyn themselves with it ; so that there would not henceforth be need of any further Dispute.

We shall here conclude therefore, that the Alledging the Testimonies of the *Fathers*, upon the Differences that are at this day in Religion, is no proper Course for the Decision of them, seeing it is no easie matter to discover, what Their Judgment hath been touching the same, by reason of the many Difficulties that we meet with, in the writings of the *Ancients* : neither is it of so sufficient Authority in it self, as that we may safely build our Belief upon it : since the *Fathers* themselves have been also subject to Error ; neither lastly is it of any force, either
against

against the one, or the other party ; seeing that they both regulate, and examine the *Opinions, Ceremonies, and Discipline* of the *Ancients*, the One by the Rule of the *Scriptures*, and the Other by that of the *Church*.

But here I find, that upon this Conclusion, Two Questions may arise. For, seeing that the Alledging the *Fathers* is not sufficient, for the deciding of those Points that are now in debate amongst us ; it may be demanded, in the first place, what other Course we ought to take, for the attaining to the Truth, in these Controversies : and then secondly, How, and in what Cases the Writings of the Fathers may be usefull unto us. Now although both these Questions are without the compass of our present Design, yet notwithstanding in regard they so neerly border upon it, we shall in the last place say a word or two, in answer of them.

As for the First, it would be a hard matter, in my judgment, to find out a better way for satisfaction herein, then that which one *Scholarius*, a *Greek*, who is very highly accounted of by those, who printed the General Councils at Rome, hath proposed. This Learned man, in a certain Oration of his, which he made at the Council of *Florence*, for the facilitating of the *Union*, which was then treated of betwixt the *Latines* and the *Greeks*, and was afterwards concluded on, laies down for a Ground,

first, *a That we ought not to reject all those things, which are not Clearly, and in Express Terms delivered in the Scriptures : which is a Pretext, and Shift, that many of the Hereticks make use of : but that we ought to re-*

e Scholar. Orat. 3, T. 4. Conc, Gen. p. 650. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν μὴ πάντα βεβαιῶσαι διαρρήδην λαμβάνειν ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς. τὸ γὰρ καὶ πολλὰς ἰσχυρὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν χρηταμύνας τῷ παρακαλύμματι. ἀλλ' ἂν τι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λεγομένου ἀκόλουθον ᾖ, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦς ἀξιοῦν. αὐτῶς εἰ τι τοῖς ἀληθέσι, καὶ ἀνατιθέμενοι ἐναντιώμενοι φαίνοιο, τὸ τοῦ μὴδὲνα ὡς δέχεται τρόπον. Ἐπειτα τῶν μὴ σαφῶς εἰρημόνων, αὐτὴν τῷ γραφῇ λαμβάνειν διδασκαλον, ἐξ ἧν ἄλλοθι περ σαφέστερον παραγματούται. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς τῷ δοκῶσαν διαφωνίαν ἐξηγητὰς λύειν παρεῖναι, καὶ τὰ, καὶ χρεῖας, καὶ διαφορὰς ἐνοίας, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὡς λαμβάνοντας.

ceive with equal honour, whatsoever Directly followeth from that, which is said in the Scriptures; and to reject utterly, whatsoever shall be found to be Contrary to those things, which are Undoubtedly True. He saies further, that In those things, wherein the Scripture hath not Clearly expressed it self, We must have recourse to the Scripture it self, as our Guide, to give us light therein, by some other Passage, where It hath spoken more Plainly. And after all this, He requireth, That We should use our Utmost Endeavour fully to reconcile those seeming Contradictions, which we sometimes there meet withall, in several Passages; to that purpose taking notice of the Diversity of Times, Customs, Senses, and the like. And going on, He saith,

b *Ibid.* p. 652, & 653. that the Fathers of the Council at Nice after this manner concluded, by the Scriptures, upon the True Beleif touching the Son of God. And then applying

c *Ibid.* p. 654. τὸ μὲν οὖν, ἐκ τῆς πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ τὰ μὲν διεξέρχεται ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, ὁμολογεῖται δὲ καὶ πάντων ἡμῶν, &c.

d ἐκ οὗ ἐκ τινων ἄλλων τῶτο συναγεται δεῖ, φανερώσ. ἐκεῖ λεγομένων;

all this to his present purpose, He adds; *c* That the Scripture saith Clearly and Expressly, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father: and that this is agreed upon by both sides, both by the Greeks, and the Latines: But that It hath not so expressly declared it self, whether the Holy Ghost proceed also from the Son, or not: and that this is the thing now in Question; the Latines affirming it, and the Greeks on the other side denying it. *d* We ought therefore

(saith He) to prove this, from some other things, which are there more Clearly delivered: which He afterwards performeth, and indeed, in my judgment, very Learnedly, and Happily; proving this Doubtful Point out of other Passages that are more Clear. And this was the Judgment of this Great Person; which will not give any offence to those of the Church of Rome, because it came from one that was of their side. Neither do I see, what could have been spoken more Rationally. And indeed this is the Course, that is observed in all

all Sciences whatsoever. If thy Adversary doubt of the truth of what thou proposelt, thou art to prove it by such *Maximes*, as are acknowledged, and allowed of by him, making good that which is *Doubtfull*, by that which is *Certain*, and clearing that which is *Obscure*, by that which is *Evident*. And this is the Rule that I conceive we ought to walk by, in the Disputes that are betwixt Us at this day. The *Word of God* is our *Common Book*; let us therefore search into It, for that upon which we may ground our own Belief; and by which we may overthrow the Opinion of our Adversary. As for Example, it is there said Clearly and Expressly, that That, which Our Saviour Christ took, at his Last Supper, was *Bread*: and herein we All agree. But it is not at all there expressed, whether this *Bread* were afterward *Changed*, or *Annihilated*, or not. And this is now the *Question* in dispute amongst Us. We ought therefore (according to the Council of *Scholarius*,) to prove This, by some other things, which are there delivered Clearly. And if thou dost this, thou hast got the Victory: If not, I do not at all see Why, or How thou canst oblige any one to believe it.

In like manner, the Scripture telleth us, in as Express Terms as may be, that our Saviour Christ Commanded His Apostles to Take and Eat, and to Drink, that which He gave them in Celebrating the *Eucharist*. But It doth not at all say, that He Commanded them to Offer the same in *Sacrifice*, either Then, or Afterwards. And this is now the *Question*: which it concerns those of the Church of *Rome*, if they will have Us believe it, to prove by some other things, which are Clearly, and Expressly delivered in the *Word of God*.

The Scripture in like manner saith Expressly, that *Jesus Christ* is the *Mediator* betwixt God and Man: and that He is the *Head* of the *Church*; and, that He purgeth Us by His *Blood* from Our Sins. Now in all this Both sides are fully agreed. But it is not at all there expressed.

pressed, that the *Departed Saints* are *Mediators*; and that the *Pope* is the *Head* of the *Church*: and that our Souls are in part Cleanfed from their fins by the fire of *Purgatory*. And herein lies the Controversie betwixt us. The Learned *Scholarius* his opinion herein would now be, that Certainly those, who propose these Points, as Articles of Faith, deduce, and collect them from some things, which are Clearly delivered in the Scriptures: for otherwise they are not to be pressed, as Truths. And although that in matters of Religion, or indeed in any other things of Importance, a man may very well be excused, for not believing a thing, when there appears not any such Reason, as may oblige him to believe it: yet notwithstanding, if those, who reject the Articles now debated betwixt us, have a mind to go further yet, and to prove Positively the Falseness of them; you see, this Authour hath laid them down the way, by which they are to proceed. He accounteth those very Absurd, that require at your hands that you should shew them all things Expressly delivered in the Scripture: and this ought Principally to be understood of *Negative Propositions*; of which no Science giveth you any certain account: for as much as to go about to number them all up, would be both an Infinite, and also an Unprofitable, uselesse piece of work. It is sufficient to deliver the *Positive Truth*. For, as whatsoever rightly followeth thereupon, is *True*; in like manner, whatsoever clafheth with, or contradicteth the same, is *False*. Wouldst thou therefore demonstrate those Propositions, that are pressed upon thee, to be False? Do but compare them with those things, that are Clearly, and Expressly delivered in the Scripture. And if thou findest them Contrary to any thing there set down, receive them not by any means. As for example, if a *Protestant* not contenting himself with having answered all those Reasons which are brought to prove that there is such a place as *Purgatory*, shall yet desire to go further, and to make it appear, that the Opinion is False; he is in this case to have recourse

recourse to the *Scripture*; and to examine it by those things which are there Clearly, and Expressly delivered, touching the *State* of the *Soul*, after it is departed this life; and touching the *Cause* and *Means* of the *Expiation* of our *Sins*, and the like. And if the *Opinion* of *Purgatory* be found to contradict any thing there delivered, then (according to *Scholarius*,) it ought not to be received by any means. But the Brevity which we proposed to our selves in this Discourse, permitteth us not to prosecute this Point any further.

As for the Second Question, it is no very hard matter to resolve it. For, although we do not indeed allow any *Supream*, and *Infallible Authority* to the writings of the Fathers, yet do we not therefore presently account them *Useless*. If there were nothing of *Use* in Religion, saving what was also *Infallible*, we should have but little good of any *Humane Writings*. Those who have written in our own Age, or a little before, are of no Authority at all, either against the one or the other Party. Yet notwithstanding do we both read them, and also reape much benefit from them. How much more advantage then may we make, by studying the writings of the *Fathers*, whose Piety, and Learning was, for the most part, much greater, then that of the *Moderns*? *St. Augustine* believed them not in any thing, otherwise, then as He found what They delivered, to be grounded upon Reason; and yet notwithstanding He had Them in a very great Esteem. The like may be said of *St. Hierome*, who had read almost all of them over; notwithstanding that He takes Liberty sometimes to reprove them something sharply, where he finds them not speaking to his mind. Though you should deprive them not onely of this *Supremacy*, which yet They never sought after; but should rob them also of their *Proper Names*, yet notwithstanding would they still be of very great *Use* unto Us. For, Books do not therefore Profit us, because they were of such, or such a mans Writing; but rather because they

they instruct us in those thing that are Good, and Honest, and keep us out of Errour, and make us abhor those things that are Vicious. Blot out, if you please, the Name of *St. Augustine* out of the Title of those Excellent Books of His *De Civitate Dei*, or those other which He wrote *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*. His writings will instruct you never a whit the less, neither will you find any whit the less benefit by them : The like may be said of all the rest.

First of all therefore you shall find in the Fathers very many Earnest, and Zealous Exhortations to Holiness of Life, and to the Observation of the Discipline of Jesus Christ. Secondly you shall there meet with very strong and Solid proofs of those *Fundamentall Principles* of our Religion, touching which we are all agreed : and also many excellent things laid open, tending to the right understanding of these *Mysteries*, and also of the *Scriptures*, wherein they are contained. In this very particular Their Authority may be of good use unto you, and may serve as a Probable Argument of the Truth. For is it not a wonderfull thing to see, that so many Great Wits, born in so many severall Ages, during the space of Fifteen Hundred years, and in so many severall Countries, being also of so different Tempers, and who in other things were of so contrary Opinions, should notwithstanding be found all of them to agree so Constantly, and Vnanimously, in the *Fundamentals* of Christianity ? that amidst so great diversity in worship, They all adore one and the same *Christ* ? preach one and the same *Sanctification* ? hope all of them for one and the same *Immortality* ? acknowledg all of them the same *Gospels* ? finde therein all of them Great, and High *Mysteries* ? The Exquisite Wisdome, and the Inestimable Beauty it self of the *Discipline* of *Jesus Christ*, I confesse, is the most Forcible, and Certain Argument of the Truth of it : yet certainly this Consideration also is, in my opinion, no small proof of the same. For, I beseech you, what Probability is there, that

that so many Holy Men, who were endued (as it appeareth by their Writings) with such Admirable Parts, with so much strength and Clearness of Vnderstanding, should all of them be so grossely overseen, as to set so High a price, and Esteem upon this *Discipline*, as to suffer, even to Death for it; unless it had in it some certain Heavenly Virtue, for to make an Impression in the Souls of Men? What likelihood is there, that Seven, or Eight Dogs, and as many Atheisticall Hogs, that Bark, and Grunt so Sottishly, and Confusedly against This Sacred, and Venerable Religion, should have better luck in lighting upon the Truth, then so many Excellent Men, who have all so Vnanimously born Testimony to the Truth? As for *Atheists*, their Uicious Life ought to render their Testimony suspected to every one; notwithstanding they may be otherwise (as indeed they conceive themselves to be) Able Men. For, I beseech you, what wonder is it, if a whoremaster, or a Bawd, or an Ambitious person cry down that *Discipline*, that condemneth these Vices to Everlasting Fire? that he that drowneth himself every day, and at length vomiteth up his soul in Wine, should hate that Religion, which forbiddeth Drunkenness, upon pain of Damnation? The great Reason that these men have, to wish that it were False, must needs make any man cease to wonder at their pronouncing It to be False.

To take any notice of what such wretched Things as these say, is all one, as if you should judge, by taking the Opinion of Common strumpets, of the Equity, or Injustice of the Laws that enjoin people to live Honest. But the case is clear otherwise with these Holy Men, who have so Constantly, and so Vnanimously taught the Truth of the Christian Religion. For seeing they were Men, born, and brought up in the very same Infirmities with other men; we cannot doubt but that They also Naturally had strong Inclinations to those vices, which our Saviour Christ forbiddeth; and very little Affection to those Virtues, which He commandeth. For as much therefore, as not-

withstanding all this, They have yet all of them Constantly maintained, that His Doctrine is True; Their Testimony certainly in this case neither can, nor ought in any wise to be suspected. So that although They had not any of those Great, and Incomparable Advantages of Parts, and Learning, above the enemies of Christianity; Their Bare word however is much rather to be taken, then the Others: seeing that these men are manifestly carried away by the force of their own vile Affections, of which the other cannot possibly be suspected Guilty. And as for those Differences in Opinion, which are sometimes found amongst Them, touching some certain Points of Religion, some whereof we have formerly set down; these things are so far from taking off any thing from the weight of Their Testimonies, as that on the Contrary they add rather very much unto the same. For this must acquit their *Consenting* of all suspicion, that some perhaps might have, that it proceeded from some Combination, or some Correspondence, and Mutuall Intelligence. When thou findest them so disagreeing among themselves, touching so many severall Points; it is an evident Argument, that they have not learnt their knowledg from one another, nor yet have all agreed upon the same thing by common Deliberation; but have all of them collected it out of a serious Examination, and Consideration of the things themselves. And if we received no other Benefit by the *Writings* of the *Fathers* then this, yet were this however very much.

But now, that the Benefit, and Contentment, which we shall receive from this Consideration, may not be interrupted, and disturbed, by our meeting with so many severall *Private Opinions* of theirs; we are to take notice, that Christianity consisteth not in *Subtillties*, nor in the great number of *Articles*. The *Efficacy* of them is much more Considerable, then the *Number*. A great part of these Points of Faith, and the end of all the rest, is, *Sanctification*; that is to say, *A pure Worship of God*, and, *A Hearty*

Hearty Charity towards Men. Thou mayest therefore boldly conclude That Man to be a true Observer of This Discipline, that thou shalt find to have a True, and Right Sense, and Apprehension of these Two Points. Though perhaps he be ignorant of those Other, that lye rather in *Speculation*, then in *Practise*, thou oughtest not to reject him for that. And if, being carried away with his own Curiosity, or some other reason, he chance to erre in some of those other Articles, bear with him notwithstanding. As God forgives us our *Sins*, so doth He also forgive us our *Errours*. The *Hay*, and the *Stubble*, and the *Chaffe* shall be consumed: But yet He that buildeth therewith, shall be saved, if so be He but hold fast to the *Foundation*. Neither oughtest thou to be troubled, if thou now and then meetest with some *Ignorant*, or perhaps some *Erroneous* Passages in the *Fathers*, touching these Points. They are never a whit the less Christians for this; and may for all this, have been most Faithfull Servants of *Jesus Christ*. There is not any *Face* in the world so Beautifull, but that it hath some Speckle, or Blemish in it. Yet is it not either the less esteemed, or the less beloved for this. The Naturall condition of Mortall Men, and Things, is, to have some Mixture in it of Imperfection,

But now, besides what hath been hitherto said, we may, in my opinion, make another very Considerable Use of the *Fathers*. For there sometimes arise such troublesome Spirits, as will needs broach Doctrines, devised of their own Head, which are not at all grounded upon any Principle of the Christian Religion. I say therefore, that the Authority of the *Ancients* may very Properly, and Seasonably be made use of, against the Impudence of these Men: by shewing, that the *Fathers* were utterly Ignorant of any such *Fancies*, as these men propose to the world. And if this can be proved, we ought then certainly to conclude, that no such Doctrine was ever preached to Mankind; either by our Saviour Christ,

or by His Apostles. For what Probability is there, that those Holy Doctors of Former Ages, from whose hands Christianity hath been derived down unto us, should be Ignorant of any of those things, which had been Revealed, and Recommended by our Saviour, as Important, and Necessary to Salvation? It is true indeed, that the *Fathers*, being deceived either by some False manner of Argumentation, or else by some Seeming Authority, do sometimes deliver such things, as have not been revealed by our Saviour *Christ*; but are evidently either False, or Ill grounded; as we have formerly shewed in those Examples before produced by us. It is true moreover, that among those things which have been revealed by our Saviour *Christ* in the Scripture, which yet are not Absolutely Necessary to Salvation, the *Fathers* may have been ignorant of some of them; either by reason that Time had not as yet discovered what the sense of them was; or else, because that for lack of giving good heed unto them, or by their being carried away with some Passion, They did not then perceive, what hath since been found out. But that they should all of them have been Ignorant of any Article, that is Necessarily Requisite to Salvation, is altogether Impossible. For, after this account, They should all have been deprived of salvation; which, I suppose, every Honest soul would tremble at the thought of.

I say then, and, as I conceive, have sufficiently proved in this *Treatise*, that an *Argument* which concludeth the Truth of any *Proposition*, from the *Fathers* having maintained the same, is very Weak, and Il-grounded; as supposing that, which is Clearly False; namely, That the *Fathers* maintained nothing, which had not been Revealed by our Saviour *Christ*. For, this would be such a kind of Argumentation, as if a man should prove, by the General *Agreement* herein of the *Fathers*, that all the *Departed Souls* are shut up together in a certain Place, or Receptacle, till the *Day of Judgement*: or, that the *Eucharist* is Necessarily to be administered to *Lit-*

Little.

the Infants; and the like : where every one sees, how Insufficient, and Invalid this way of Argumentation is. And, to say the truth, such is the Proceeding of the Church of *Rome*, when They go about to prove, by the *Authority* of the *Fathers*, those Articles which They propose to the World, and which are rejected by the *Protestants*!

I say moreover, that to conclude upon the *Nullity*, or *Falseness* of any *Article*, that is not of the number of those that are *Necessary* to *Salvation*, from the *General Silence* of the *Fathers* touching the same, is a very Absurd way of Arguing; as supposing a thing which is also Manifestly False; Namely, that the *Fathers* must Necessarily have seen, and Clearly known All, and every of those things, which *Jesus Christ* hath revealed in *His Word*.

Such a kind of Argument would it be thought among the *Franciscans*, if any one should conclude against Them, from the *Silence* of the *Fathers*, that our Saviour *Christ* hath not at all revealed, that the Blessed Virgin *Mary* was conceived without Sin. But yet I confesse again on the other side, that in those Points that are accounted as Absolutely Necessary to *Salvation*, an Argument that should be drawn from the *General Silence* of the *Fathers*, to prove the *Nullity* or *Falseness* of it, would be very Pertinent, and indeed Unanswerable. As for example, His manner of Argumentation would be very *Rational*, and Solid, that should conclude that those Means of *Salvation* which are proposed by a *Mahomet*, suppose, or a *David George*, or the like *Señtaries*, are Null, and contrary to the Will of our Saviour *Christ*, (how much soever these Men may seem to Honour Him.) seeing that none of the Ancient Christians speak so much as one syllable of it, and are utterly ignorant of all those *Secrets*, that these Wretches have preached to their Disciples, and delivered as *Infallible* and *Necessary Means* of *Salvation*. After this manner did *Irenæus* dispute against the *Valentinians*,
and

and other of the *Gnosticks*; who vented their own senselesse *Dreams*, and Absurd Issues of their Own Brain, saying, that the *Creator* of the World was but an *Angel*; and, that there were above Him certain Divine Powers, which They called *Æones*, that is to say *Ages*: some of them making more of these, and others fewer, and some reckoning to the number of CCCLXV. and an infinite number of other the like *Prodigies*; never shewing any Ground for the same, either in *Reason*, or out of the

* *Irenæus* l. 3. *Scripture*. * *Irenæus* therefore, that he might make it appear to the World, that this so Strange Doctrine was produced out of their Own Brain onely, goes about, and

Contr. Her. c. 1. 2, 3. & 4.

visiteth the *Archives* of all the Churches, that had been either Planted, or Watered by the Holy *Apostles*, turnes over all their *Records*, *Evidences*, and *Ancient Monuments*; and these *Æones*, *Achamot*, and *Barbelo* of

Id. 3. c. 2.

the *Gnosticks* no where appearing, nor so much as any the least Part, or Trace of them, He concludeth, that the *Apostles* had never delivered over any such thing to their Disciples, neither by Writing, nor by Word of Mouth, as these *Impostors* pretended they had. For certainly if they had done so, the memory of it could not have been so utterly lost. This is also the Method that *Tertullian* followed, in his Disputations against these very Hereticks, and others the like, in the 22 Chapter of his Book *De Prascriptionibus adversus Hereticos*, and in other places. The Practise of these Great Persons, who made use of it themselves, will here serve to prove unto us, that this Course is Right, and Good.

And thus you see, that the *Authority* of the *Fathers* is of very great Use in the Church, and serveth as an *Out-work* to the *Scriptures*, for the repelling the Presumption of those, who would forge a *New Faith*.

But forasmuch as those, who broach New Doctrines of their own Head, do Ordinarily slight the *Holy Scriptures*; as those very Hereticks did, whom *Irenæus* confuted

futed; who impudently accused Them of not being Right; and that they are of no Authority; and speak in very Ambiguous Terms; and that they are not able to inform a man of the Truth, unlesse they are acquainted with Tradition; the Truth having been delivered (as These men pretended) not in Writing, but by Word of Mouth: For this Reason, I say, and for other the like, are the *Writings* of the *Fathers* of very great Use in these Disputes; and I conceive This to be one of the

Iren. l. 3. c. 2. Cum enim ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non rectè habeant, neque sint ex auctoritate, & quia variè sint dictæ, & quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas, ab his qui nesciant Traditionem. Non enim per litteras traditam illam, sed per vivam vocem.

Principal ends for which the Divine Providence hath, in despite of So many Confusions, and Changes, preserved so many of them safe, down to our times.

If therefore the *Protestants* should propose, of their Own Head, and should press as Absolutely Necessary to Salvation, any Positive Article, which doth not at all appear in Antiquity; without all Question This Course might, with very good Reason, be made use of against Them. But it is most Evident, that there is no such thing at all in their Belief: for They maintain onely such things, as are either Expressly delivered in the *Scriptures*, or else are Evidently deduced from thence; and such as have also been expounded, the greatest part of them, and interpreted by the *Ancients*, not in their own private Writings onely, but even in their *CreeDs* and *Synodical Determinations* also. They pretend not either to any Particular Revelation, or Secret Tradition, or any other New Principle of Doctrine. Their Faith is grounded onely upon the Old, and (which is the Most Authentick Instrument of Christianity) the *New Testament*. Onely in their Expositions either of the Doctrines therein Contained, or other Passages, They produce some few things, that are not at all found in the *Fathers*. But these things being not Necessary to Salvation, the Argument which is brought from the Silence of the *Fathers* herein, is not sufficient to prove the Falsenesse of them. Time, Experience, Assistance

stance of others, and the very *Errours* also of the *Fathers*, having (as They say) now laid that Open to Them, which was Heretofore more Difficult, and hard to be discovered and taken notice of, in *Divine Revelation*. Who knoweth not that a *Dwarfe*, mounted upon a *Giant's* shoulders, looketh higher, and seeth further, then the *Giant* himself? It would be ridiculous in any man that should conclude, that That which the *Dwarfe* pretends to discover, is not at all in Nature, because then the *Giant* must also have seen it. Neither would He be much wiser, that should accuse the *Dwarfe* of Presumption; because forsooth, He hath told Us that, whereof the *Giant* said not a word: seeing that it is the *Giant*, to whom the *Dwarfe* is beholding for the greatest part of His Knowledg. And this is Our Case, say the *Protestants*: We are mounted upon the Shoulders of that Great, and High Giant, *Antiquity*. That advantage which we have above it, by its means, enables us to see many things in *Divine Revelation*, which it did not see. But yet however this cannot be any occasion of Presumption to us, because we see more then it did; for as much as it is this very *Antiquity*, to which we owe a great part of this our Knowledg.

It is Certainly therefore very Clear^l, that as for the *Protestants*, and what concerns the Positive Points of Their Faith, they are wholly without the Compass of this Dispute. And as for those of the Church of *Rome*, They cannot, for the Reasons before given, make any Advantage of the *Testimony* of the *Ancients*, for the proving of any of those Points of Doctrine which They maintain, save only of those, wherein the Adversaries agree with them: and therefore, if they would have us to come over to Their Belief, They must Necessarily have recourse to some other kinde of Proofs. But yet I do not see, but that we may very well make Inquiry into *Antiquity*, touching many Articles, which are now maintained by those of the Church of *Rome*: and if we find, that the *Ancients* have not said any thing at all of the
same

same, we may then Positively conclude, that they are not to be accounted as any part of the Christian Religion. I confess, that there are some of them, against which this Argument is of no force at all : as namely, those which They do not account *Necessary* to Salvation, and which both the *Ancients* heretofore might have been, and we also at this day may be Ignorant of. But Certainly, This Argument in my judgment, would be utterly Unanswerable, against such Points as They press as *Necessary*, and whereon indeed They would have our salvation wholly to depend : as for Example, The *Supream Authority* of the *Pope*, and of the *Church* which owneth Him as Its *Head* ; the *Aderation* of the Holy Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, the *Sacrifice* of the *Mass*, the *Necessity* of *Auricular Confession*, and the like. For, if so be they are of so great Importance, as They would make us believe ; it would be a point of high Impiety to say, that the *Fathers* knew not any thing at all of them : in like manner as it would be a most Absurd thing to maintain, that though They did know them, they would not yet speak any one word of them, in all those Books, which we have of theirs at this day. And, if they had said any thing at all of them in their Writings, we have no reason in the world to suspect, that possibly those passages, where mention was made of them, may have been rased out, or corrupted and altered by False hands : seeing that this piece of Knavery would have been done to the Disadvantage of those, who had these Books in their Custody. We have rather very good reason to suspect, that whatsoever Alterations there are, they have been made in favour of the Church of *Rome* ; as we have proved before in the First Book. If therefore after so long a time, and after so many *Indexes* as they of the Church of *Rome* have put forth, and so great a desire as They have had to find these Doctrines of theirs in the Writings of the *Fathers*, and the little Conscience that they have sometimes made of foisting in into the Writings of the *Fathers*, what they could not finde there, We can still notwithstanding

make it appear, that they are not to be found there at all : after all this, I say, who can possibly doubt, but that the Fathers were ignorant of them ? Who will ever be persuaded to believe, that They held them as *Necessary* to *Salvation* ? And if they were not known to be such Then, how can any body imagine, that they should at length come to be such now ?

My Opinion therefore is, that although the Authority of the *Fathers* be not sufficient to prove the Truth of those Articles, which are now maintained by the Church of *Rome*, against the *Protestants*, although the *Ancients* should perhaps have believed the same ; It may notwithstanding serve to prove the *Falseness* of them, in case that we should find by the *Fathers*, that the *Ancients* were either wholly Ignorant of them, or at least acknowledged them not for such, as They would now have us believe them to be : which is a Business that so nearly concerns the *Protestants*, as that to be able to bring about their Design, I conceive they ought to imploy a good part of their time in reading over the Books of the *Ancients*.

Onely it is requisite, that either Party, when they undertake so Tedious, and so Important a Business as this is, should come very well provided of all Necessary Parts; as namely of the Knowledge of the *Languages*, and of *History*, and should also be very well read in the *Scriptures*; and, that they use herein their utmost Diligence, and Attention, and withal read over exactly whatsoever we have left us of the *Fathers*, not omitting any thing that Possibly they can get; because a little short Passage many times gives a man very much Light in the finding out their Meaning : and not think (as some, who much decieve themselves, do,) that they perfectly know, what the sense, and Belief of the *Ancients* was, because perhaps they have spent four, or five moneths in the reading of them over. But above all, it is Necessary that they come to this business voyd of all Passion and Prejudication : which is indeed the greatest, and the most general Cause of that Obscurity, which is found in these Writings of the Fathers

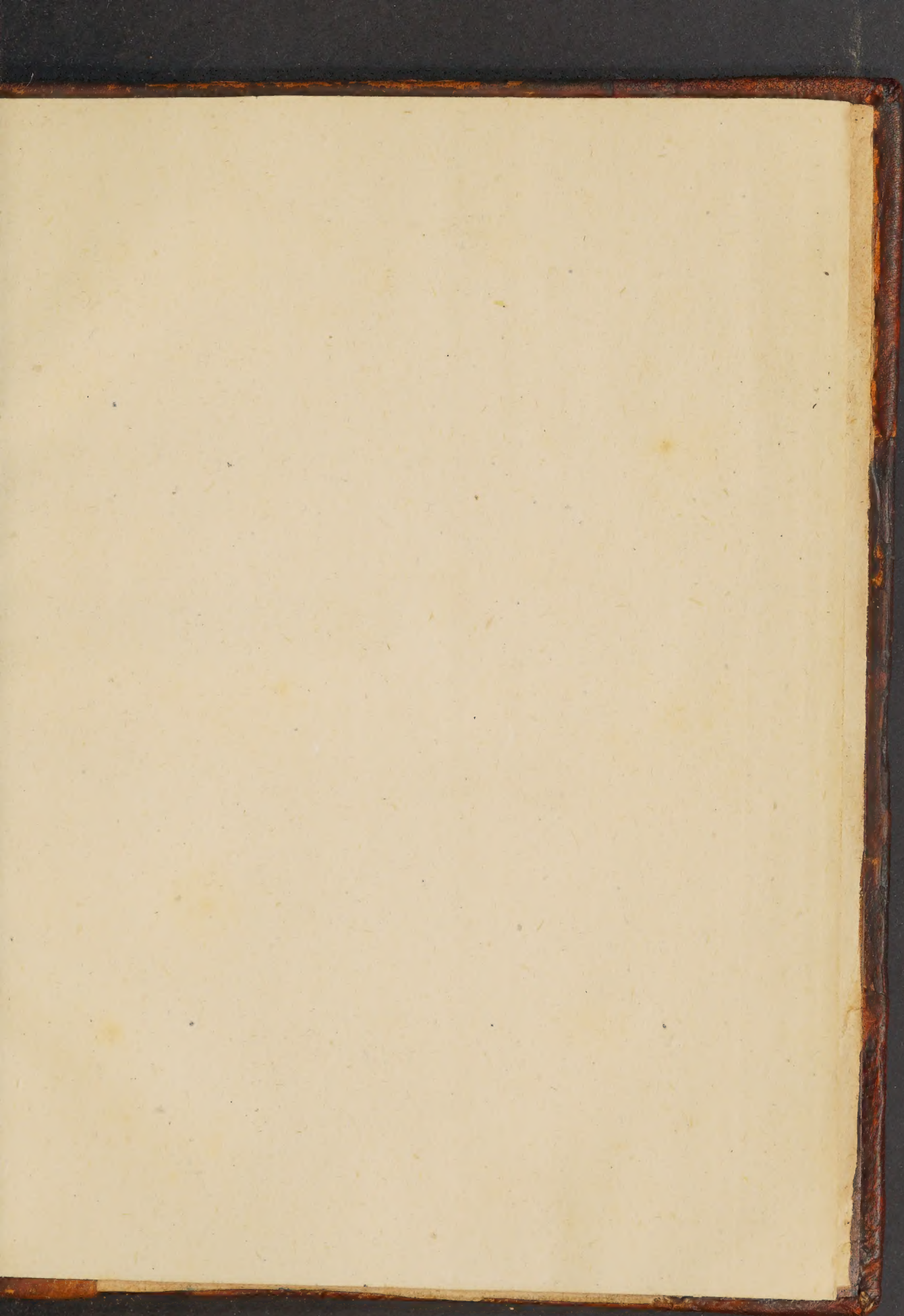
Fathers, whilst every one endeavours to make Them speak to His sense; whereas in the greatest part of these Points of Religion, which are now controverted amongst us, these Ancient Authours really believed much Lesse, then the one party doth; and some little matter More, then the other doth: and there are but a very few Points of all this number, wherein They are fully and Absolutely of the same Judgment, that either of the Two Parties is. Neither is it sufficient in this businesse to take notice of such Testimonies, as either Positively affirm, or deny those things which we look after: because that how Clear soever they perhaps may be, it will go very hard but a Quick Wit will find something to darken the sense of them: as you may observe in all Books of *Controversies*; where you shall have them so baffle, and make nothing of such Testimonies, as are brought against them out of the Ancients, as that you would hardly know what to hold to. But you must also observe, what the Necessary *Consequences* are of each Particular Article: it being impossible to conclude upon any One Point, that is of any Importance, but that there will presently follow upon it diverse Consequences, as well within, as without the Church.

As for Example, you are to consider, what the *Consequences* are of the *Transubstantiation* of the *Eucharist*, as it is now held by the Church of *Rome*; of *Purgatory*; and of the *Monarchicall Authority* of the *Pope*: and when you have observed them well, you are then to mark, in reading the Books of the *Ancients*, whether they appear there in Whole, or in Part: For, if you finde them not there at all, it is a most Certain Argument, that the Doctrine from whence they proceed, and upon which they follow, is *New* and *Unsound*. But I shall not proceed any further in this Discourse, since diverse have already treated hereof at large, it being, in my judgment, no hard matter to collect, from what we have here delivered, how we ought to read the *Fathers*.

FINIS.

Errata.

PRef. page 1. line 19. read, is Supream. Lib 1. p. 4. l. 7. r. Seventh;
 J. *ib.* l. 36. r. They. p. 6. l. 1. r. Pinytus Cretensis. p. 8. l. 26. r. acci-
 dentally, p. 15. l. 35. r. other. p. 23. l. 32. r. so many. p. 24. l. 27. r. De-
 crees. p. 47. l. 3. r. Provinciall and Diocesan Synods. p. 53. l. 23. r.
 have dared. p. 60. l. 29. r. Christ. p. 64. l. 20. r. They put. p. 78. l. 30.
 r. and Marcion. p. 80. l. 8. r. ὁμοῦσιν. p. 91. l. 33. r. Encratites. p. 95.
 l. 31. r. Bitonto, p. 139. l. 18. r. which receiveth. p. 145. l. 34. r. Bishop
 of Af. p. 159. l. 21. r. whereof. Lib. 2. p. 13. l. 34. r. them, and. p. 27.
 l. 13. r. the Father. *ib.* l. 34. r. over Credulous. p. 28. l. 32. r. they
 would. *ib.* l. 35. ~~de~~ Trick. *ib.* l. 36. r. a Trick only. p. 37. l. 18. r.
 seems to. p. 43. l. 11. r. to be ap. p. 45. l. 8. r. in Points. p. 47. l. 35. r.
 Baronius hath. p. 48. l. 23. r. this means. p. 52. l. 28. r. St. Paul. p. 54.
 l. 26. r. choosing. p. 57. l. 16. r. ye shall. p. 64. l. 17. r. Gods word. p. 69.
 l. 11. r. Montanisme put. p. 72. l. 1. r. Their Bapt. p. 74. l. 27. r. Temper,
 declared. p. 76. l. 29. r. not dissemble. p. 91. l. 10. r. Merits. p. 93. l. 11. r.
 Accusations. p. 99. l. 2. r. know. p. 102. l. 31. r. altogether. p. 106.
 l. 24. r. Tertullian. p. 118. l. 9. r. Adversary. p. 122. l. 31. r. lesse Op-
 posite. p. 140. l. 28. r. too near. p. 144. l. 1. r. Fathers. p. 163. l. 33. r.
 Eighty. p. 181. l. 28. r. Sacrifice. p. 184. l. 1. r. things. p. 185. l. 30. r.
 clean. p. 192. l. 30. r. their Advenc.



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